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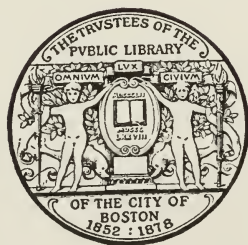


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VOLUME VI
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EDITOR: ZOLTÁN HARASZTI

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JANUARY 1954

Centennial Exhibit in the Treasure Room

By ZOLTÁN HARASZTI

AS part of the celebration of the Centennial of the Boston Public Library, an exhibit of some of its rarest and most valuable books and manuscripts has been arranged in the Treasure Room. The items, about one hundred in all, have been selected from thirty-odd collections. The task of deciding which items to include has been difficult; any of the collections could provide enough material to fill the show-cases. The books and manuscripts placed on view merely symbolize, therefore, the more than one hundred thousand books and manuscripts of the Rare Book Department.

The Prince Collection, deposited at the Boston Public Library since 1866, is still one of the greatest groups of early books relating to New England; and hundreds of other valuable pieces of Americana have been given by John A. Lewis and Benjamin P. Hunt, or purchased, as at the Barlow sale in 1890. The Barton Collection, with its priceless Shakespeareana and Jacobean literature, is surpassed in this country only by the similar holdings of the Folger Library. And there is the Ticknor Collection of Spanish Literature, regarded as one of the finest of its kind in the world.

These three great collections are perhaps the most famous possessions of the Library. But the others, too, have their claim to distinction. The Bowditch Collection contains all the books

brought together by Nathaniel Bowditch, the first great American mathematician and navigator, and is being constantly strengthened by additions acquired through a special trust fund. The Benton Collection of Books of Common Prayer and the Defoe Collection could hardly be duplicated outside the British Museum. The first includes original editions of all the recensions as also a rich group of early primers; and the second has an almost complete set of Defoe's four hundred pamphlets, many of them in several variants. The history of printing could be documented with the products of all the famous presses. The Library has nearly five hundred volumes printed in the fifteenth century, more than a third of them illustrated with woodcuts. All countries of Western Europe are represented, often by the choicest items; and, besides religion, all fields of literature and science are covered. The collection of medieval manuscripts, the nucleus of which was bought at the sale of the library of the Earl of Ashburnham, has been enriched by beautifully illuminated bibles, missals, psalters, and books of hours. And so on from botany to biography, from drama and dance to children's books.

The exhibit provides a real treat for the visitor. Collectors and special students will appreciate the excellent condition of the great rarities, while the average book-lover will delight in recognizing the first editions of his favorite reading.

THE largest section is devoted to Americana. The first item is a Portolano atlas made about 1560 at Marseilles. Among its many charts is one of the eastern coast of America, and for the time it is remarkably accurate; the atlas was actually used by an early voyager. Next is a copy of the first edition of Columbus's Latin letter about "The Islands of India Recently Discovered beyond the Ganges." The letter was written on March 14, 1493, on board the *Niña* in the harbor of Lisbon, just before the great discoverer started for Barcelona to appear before King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella. It was addressed to Treasurer Gabriel Sanchez. Translated from Spanish into Latin, it was published in May 1493 in Rome, and soon after also in Antwerp, Basel, and Paris. Of the first edition, to which the Library's copy belongs, only ten copies exist.

The Library is extremely rich in material relating to the voyages of the Spanish, French, and English travelers. Eminent among the English explorers was John Smith, the last of the great adventurers and the first among the colonizers. Sent over by London merchants with two ships in 1614, he investigated every nook of the New England coast from Penobscot to Cape Cod. The very name "New England" originated with him. "I have drawn a map," he wrote, "from point to point, isle to isle, and harbour to harbour, with the soundings, sands, rocks and land-marks as I passed close abroad the shore in a little boat." The next year Smith made two attempts to reach New England for purposes of settlement. First he failed on account of bad weather, and on the second voyage he fell into the hands of French pirates. While in prison he composed his *Description of New England*, published in 1616, with a map — "the earliest thoroughly accurate map of Massachusetts Bay," as Justin Winsor called it.

Bearing directly on the founding of the Bay Colony is *The Humble Request*, London 1630, John Winthrop's and his companions' farewell address "to the rest of their Brethren in and out of the Church of England — for the obtaining of their Prayers, and the removall of suspitions, and misconstructions of their Intentions." Then there is the first draft of the Freeman's Oath in Winthrop's handwriting, and that of the Servants' Oath in Dudley's. On display is the complete manuscript of Winthrop's *Arbitrary Government Described and the Government of Massachusetts Vindicated from that Aspersion*, 1644 — the first political treatise written by an American.

In the center of the range is a copy of the Bay Psalm Book — *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* — published in Cambridge in 1640, the first book printed in what is today the United States. Soon after their landing, the Puritan divines decided to publish a new translation of the Psalms, one which would follow the Hebrew text more closely than the Sternhold and Hopkins version which they brought with them. "Thirty pious and learned ministers" took the matter in hand, but the principal part of the work was done by Richard Mather of Dorchester and John Eliot and Thomas Welde of Roxbury. Their verses were poor, but smoothness and elegance were not their primary

considerations. "Let no one think," Mather wrote in the preface, "that for the meetre's sake wee have taken liberty or poetically license departing from the true and proper sence of Davids words in the hebrew verse." They knew well that "Gods altar need not our polishings." Seventeen hundred copies were printed, of which eleven exist today — four perfect, two slightly imperfect, and the rest lacking a varying number of leaves. Five of these copies were originally in the Prince Collection; now there are two. The Bay Psalm Book is the most highly priced volume in the English language; six years ago a copy sold for \$151,000.

Another famous product of the first Cambridge press was the Indian Bible, a translation of the entire Old and New Testaments into Natick or Nipmuck, a branch of the Algonquin language, printed by Samuel Greene in 1661-63. The translation was the work of a single man, John Eliot, "Apostle to the Indians." First he had to learn the language, reduce it to grammar, and then teach the Indians to read. The title-page of the book has some English words mixed with the Indian. "The Holy Bible" is translated as "Up-Biblum God," "Old Testament" as "Nukkone Testament," and "New Testament" as "Wuska Testament." For such was the barbarism of the Indians, Cotton Mather reminds us, that they had no words for God, Bible, Testament. Neither had they a word for "printed"; Eliot manufactured one which reads "printeuoop."

Among the early descriptions of the Bay Colony, Thomas Lechford's *Newes from New-England*, London 1642, deserves attention. The author, a lawyer, came to Boston in 1638 and stayed for three years. Besides information about civic and ecclesiastical affairs, he gave a short account of the fertility of the country and the customs of the Indians. *A Description of the New World* by George Gardiner, London 1651, contains the impressions of another visitor. The author can hardly be called garrulous, as he devoted only three pages to New England. Here is his account of Boston: "The principall [town] is Boston, fairly built, the great street is near a half a mile long, full of wel-furnished shops of Merchandise of all sorts. Here is resident a Councill, and the Governour, which is yearly chosen from among them: this town hath a good Port, called the Bay

THE
VVHOLE
BOOKE OF PSALMES
Faithfully
TRANSLATED into ENGLISH
Metre.

Whereunto is prefixed a discourse de-
claring not only the lawfullnes, but also
the necessity of the heavenly Ordinance
of singing Scripture Psalmes in
the Churches of
God.

Coll. III.

*Let the word of God dwell plentifully in
you, in all wisdom, teaching and exhort-
ing one another in Psalmes, Hymnes, and
spirituall Songs, singing to the Lord with
grace in your hearts.*

James v.

*If any be afflicted, let him pray, and if
any be merry let him sing psalmes.*

Imprinted

1640

The Title-page of the Bay Psalm Book

of Boston, with many ships, which is secured with a Castle, guarded with Souldiers and Ordnance." John Josselyn's *New-Englands Rarities Discovered*, London 1672, is a good description of the flora and fauna of the country. It is illustrated with a number of woodcuts. Boston rather pleased the Englishman. "The Buildings are handsome," he wrote, "joyning one to the other as in London, with many large streets, most of them paved with pebble stone; in the high street towards the Common there are fair Buildings, some of stone."

The first large chart of Boston Harbor was drawn in 1687 by Captain Fayrwether and others for Governor Andros. The shoals, banks, and reefs are in color, and single rocks and ledges are indicated by crosses. The soundings of the main channels and passages between the islands are marked in fathoms. Only one document referring to the revolution against Andros has been placed on view — the original copy of the ultimatum of the provisional government to the captive governor. "We judge it necessary," it states, "that you forthwith surrender and deliver up the government and fortifications," warning him that "if any opposition be made, the fortifications may be taken by storm."

Apart from its nearly two thousand volumes, many of which were printed in the Colonies, the Prince Collection includes the Mather, Cotton, Hinckley, and Prince Papers, nearly a thousand letters by outstanding divines and magistrates of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century. There is no source more important for a close study of the period. Unfortunately, only a single letter can be shown. It is the one written by Cotton Mather to John Richards, after the latter's appointment to the Court of Oyer and Terminer "to try the Salem Witchcraft."

Among the eighteenth-century pieces one may note a fragment of Thomas Prince's manuscript of the *Annals of New England*; a land-survey drawn by George Washington in 1758; Paul Revere's lithograph of the Boston Massacre; and John Adams's notes taken at the trial of the British soldiers. The four great documents — the Petition of Grievances addressed to the King by the Continental Congress, the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution — hang on the walls of the Treasure Room. All four are complete with

original signatures assembled by Judge Mellen Chamberlain, a former Librarian of the Boston Public Library. From the nineteenth century, a letter by William Lloyd Garrison stands for the Anti-Slavery Collection, comprising nearly thirty thousand letters from all participants of the movement. On view are also two small volumes, the manuscript diary of John Brown.

The cases reserved for American literature include first editions of Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter*, Emerson's *Essays*, Longfellow's *Evangeline*, Mrs. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Melville's *Moby Dick*, Poe's *Tales of Arabesques*, Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*, Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn*, and other items up to Henry James's *Bostonians* and Robert Frost's *North of Boston*. Autograph letters are shown with the books.

THE English section of the exhibit, too, consists almost entirely of star items. There is the large folio of Caxton's *Golden Legend*, 1485. Compiled in the thirteenth century by Jacopo de Voragine, Archbishop of Genoa, the work is a vast repository of medieval stories of saints, arranged in accordance with the church year. Caxton himself made the first English translation, adding the legends of English saints, such as Cuthbert, Dunstan, Alban, Thomas of Canterbury, and others, to the Continental lore. Further, in scattered passages, he included in the stories nearly the whole Pentateuch (in Wyclif's version) as well as a large part of the Gospels. The volume was printed with a homely Dutch bâtarde type; it has, however, over eighty woodcuts, seventeen of which have the width of the page. Crudely though the blocks were cut, they serve their purpose well, providing the reader with means of identifying the saints.

Next is a copy of Chaucer's works printed by Richard Pynson in London in 1492. This was the third edition, and the second with illustrations. There are twenty woodcuts, based on designs in Caxton's second edition. All the characters are on horseback; the Knight holds his hand on a black sword, the Squire has an arrow, the Friar carries a small bag, the Man of Law wears a scholar's gown, and so on. Most of the woodcuts are surrounded by a solid black border. The volume is balanced in the show-case with the first edition of the *Vision of Piers*

Plowman, 1550. It is difficult to imagine two writers further apart than Chaucer and Langland. Chaucer described the jolly life of the prosperous middle-class, whereas Langland voiced the complaints of the common people. His epic is a vast allegory, yet many of the figures had been drawn from actual observation. The poem consists of over seven thousand lines, written in alliterative verse without rhymes.

The Library has a distinguished collection of English Bibles, including the Great Bible of 1540. Of the Coverdale Bible of 1535 it has only a fragment; it owns, however, the so-called Diglot Bible of 1538, containing in parallel columns the Vulgate rendition of the New Testament and Coverdale's translation. In publishing the Latin and English versions side by side, Coverdale tried to prove that he did not digress from the accepted text.

The Benton Collection is represented by a single volume — the first edition of the Book of Common Prayer printed in March 1549 by Edward Whitchurche. The English prayer book comprises several of the old service-books. The tables for the psalms and lessons and the order for matins and evensong correspond to the Breviary; the Lord's Supper and Holy Communion take the place of the Missal; the offices of baptism, matrimony, the visitation of the sick, the burial service, and the purification of women stand for the Manual; and finally the office of confirmation represents the Pontifical. "By this ordre," Archbishop Cranmer wrote in the Preface, "the curates shal nede none other bookes for their publique service, but this boke and the Bible; by the meanes whereof, the people shall not be at so great charge for bookes, as in tyme past they have been." The Library's copy, which once belonged to Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham in the time of Charles II, is in splendid condition.

In the center of the section has been placed the First Folio of Shakespeare, containing thirty-six "comedies, histories, and tragedies." It was published, as the title-page states, "according to the True Originall Copies" in 1623, seven years after the dramatist's death. The Library's copy, the first to be brought to America, is one of the fourteen existing copies in "good, un-restored condition." It is 13 1/10 in. tall and 8 3/10 in wide. The two cancelled leaves of *As You Like It* form part of the volume, while the two corrected leaves were inserted from another

copy. The Barton Collection has, of course, all four folios of Shakespeare; yet it is particularly noted for the wealth of its quartos. Only two of these are on view — the first edition of *Midsummer Nights Dream*, 1600, printed apparently from the prompter's manuscript, and *King Lear*, 1608, which contains some three hundred lines absent from the First Folio.

The Shakespeare items are surrounded by first editions of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, 1591-6, Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta*, 1633, Ben Jonson's *Poetaster*, 1602, Donne's *Poems*, 1633, and Milton's *Poems* of 1645 and *Paradise Lost* of 1667. English genius at its highest could not have been better represented in so small a space.

The Library is very rich in the works of the Restoration playwrights. It has, for instance, with one exception, a complete set of first editions of Dryden's plays. More than that, it has two or three first-edition copies of each, and has also copies of the second, third, and fourth editions of almost every play. Counting only the seventeenth-century editions, there are eighty-seven quartos of Dryden's plays in the Library! Only a few outstanding dramas of the period could be shown: Dryden's *Rival Ladies*, 1664; Wycherley's *The Plain Dealer*, 1694; and Congreve's *The Way of the World*, 1700.

Thomas P. Barton was interested in every phase of English literature — till the middle of the eighteenth century. From then on, his great collection becomes less and less comprehensive; and it may be recorded here with pleasure that the Library has succeeded in building up its section of English literature from the point where Barton stopped. The works of Pope and Swift, Dr. Johnson and Goldsmith, and of the great novelists of the eighteenth century are as complete today as could be desired. One can only name here some of the books in the cases: *The Rape of the Lock* and the *Essay on Man*; *Robinson Crusoe* and *Gulliver's Travels*; and the first volumes of *Tristram Shandy*, *Pamela*, *Tom Jones*, and *Percgrine Pickle*. In the center is an uncommonly fine copy of Boswell's *Life of Johnson*. It is opened at the title-page and the frontispiece; the engraving, made from the painting of Sir Joshua Reynolds, represents the great lexicographer sitting at a table, his English Dictionary standing on end at his elbow.

The works of the nineteenth century properly begin with the *Lyrical Ballads* of Wordsworth and Coleridge for, published in 1798, the book started the Romantic movement. The volume includes the first printing of "the Ancient Mariner" and three other poems by Coleridge, and also the first printing of "The Idiot Boy," "We Are Seven," "Lines Written a Few Miles Above Tintern Abbey," and sixteen other pieces by Wordsworth. In an "Advertisement" Wordsworth suggested that readers should ask themselves whether the book contained "a natural delineation of human passion, human characters, and human incidents." In his famous preface to the 1800 edition he further elaborated his comments into an artistic creed. Here are also copies of Shelley's *Queen Mab*, Coleridge's *Christabel*, Keats's *Endymion*, Byron's *Childe Harold*, Lamb's *Elia* Essays (Wordsworth's own), Tennyson's *Poems By Two Brothers*, Dickens's *A Christmas Carol*, Thackeray's *Pendennis*, up to Thomas Hardy's *Dynasts*, Shaw's *Saint Joan*, Masfield's *Salt Water Ballads*, and, what is probably the greatest English poem of the twentieth century, T. S. Eliot's *The Waste Land*.

ONLY six or seven books each could be selected from Spanish, French, Italian, and German literature! The choice, in a sense, was mandatory. From the Ticknor Collection the first edition of Cervantes's *Don Quixote*, 1605 and 1615, the complete manuscript of Lope de Vega's *El Castigo sin Venganza*, 1631, Calderon's *Commedias*, 1637, and from an earlier period Fernando de Rojas's *La Celestina*, 1502, the *Diana* of Montemayor, 1542 (?) and a copy of the *Romanceros*, 1561, had to be placed on view.

The French case includes a beautiful *Grandes Heures*, printed for Simon Vostre in 1508. The woodcuts of New Testament scenes are very impressive. In their illustrations the French printers were not too scrupulous; they helped themselves freely to the engravings of Alsatian and Rhenish masters, such as Schongauer and Hans Baldung. In fact, in their attempt to hold fast to tradition, their books became increasingly overcrowded with ornament. A fine example of secular book-making of the period is *La Toison d'Or* by Guillaume Fillastre, Bishop

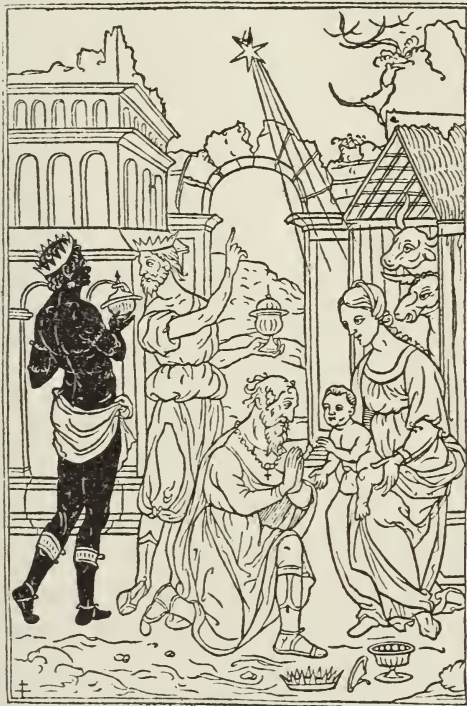
of Tournay, Paris 1516, with forty woodcuts, most of which were executed by Antoine Vérard who, known primarily as a printer-publisher, was originally a calligrapher and miniaturist.

The great innovator of French printing was Geoffroi Tory. Ever since the introduction of printing into France, French printers had been vacillating between the Gothic and Roman types. Tory, who spent some of his formative years in Italy, decided the problem in favor of the latter. His *Livre d'Heures* of 1524 is "modern" in the best sense of the word. Free of anachronisms, it has a freshness and distinction which inspired all French typographers for the rest of the century. The delicately drawn woodcuts and borders of the volume are by Tory, while the printing was executed by Simon de Colines. The Library's book is one of four complete copies known.

There is room for only a few of the masterpieces of French literature. Joachim du Bellay's *Recueil de Poésie*, 1553, is a charming little volume, all printed in italics. Du Bellay, a prominent member of the Pléiade, was one of the most talented poets of the French Renaissance. Near his book is Clément Marot's rhymed translation of the *Psalms of David*, 1603. The *Sagesse* of Pierre Charron, Montaigne's friend, was printed at Bordeaux in 1601. It is a forceful plea for religious toleration which brought severe persecution upon the author. Descartes's *Discours de la Méthode*, 1637, and Pascal's *Pensées*, 1677, remind one of the two giants representing the two contrasting directions of French thought, rationalism and mysticism.

What would Italian literature be without Dante? So on view is a copy of the *Divina Commedia*, Florence 1481, with copper-engravings that have been attributed to Botticelli. Here is Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*, Bojardo's *Orlando Innamorato*, and Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*. The latter has often been compared to *Don Quixote*. But Cervantes's novel is a savage parody of the romances of chivalry, whereas Ariosto's poem is one of them. Cervantes wanted to destroy the endless fables which lured his countrymen into dreamy idleness; Ariosto himself found refuge in these fables and loved their world.

The Freiligrath Collection includes first editions of all the German classics. It is a pleasure to look at Lessing's *Laokoön*, a work which influenced the esthetics of the last two centuries;



Ad sextam Versus.

DEus in adiutorium meū intende.
R. Domine ad adiuuandū me fe-
 cūna. Gloria patri, & filio, & spi-
 ritui sancto. Sicut erat in princi-
 pio, & nunc, & semper, & in secu-
 la seculorum. Amen. Alleluia. *Hymnus.*



F.iiij.

at Goethe's *Werther*, one of the landmarks of the Romantic movement, and *Faust*, the greatest literary masterpiece Germany has produced; at Schiller's *Wallenstein* and *Don Karlos*; at Hölderlin's *Gedichte*; at Kant's *Critik der reinen Vernunft*, and Heinrich Heine's *Atta Troll* and *Neue Gedichte*.

A FEW paragraphs about some of the other well-known collections:

The main part of President John Adams's library, probably the greatest private collection of its day in America, has been in the Boston Public Library since 1883. It is the library of an eighteenth-century statesman, whose interest embraced all fields of knowledge, with particular emphasis on law and government, history, geography, religion, and philosophy. More than a hundred books, especially the works of the eighteenth-century *philosophes*, contain extensive marginal notes by Adams.

The Bowditch Collection, which originally consisted of about twenty-five hundred volumes, now has over ten thousand. A first edition of Nathaniel Bowditch's own *New American Practical Navigator*, 1802, and one of the manuscript volumes of his translation of Laplace's monumental *Mécanique Céleste* are on view, with several epoch-making books on mathematics and astronomy. There is the *De Revolutionibus Rerum*, 1543, by Copernicus; Galileo's *Sidereus Nuncius*, 1610, and *Dialogo*, 1632; and Newton's *Principia*, 1687, and *Opticks*, 1704. This latter volume, Newton's own copy, belonged to the Theodore Parker Collection. It contains many marginal corrections and elaborations in the author's handwriting. Inserted in the book is Newton's manuscript of the last chapter that first appeared in the Latin translation of 1706.

The Galatea Collection comprises thousands of items relating to the history of woman — her education, health and hygiene, physiology, legal status, occupations, literary and artistic ability, and so on. Only one, Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, 1792, is on view.

A collection was established in 1897 in memory of the Twentieth Massachusetts Regiment of the Civil War. It is devoted to works of "a military and patriotic character"; in large part,

to books relating to the Civil War and the two World Wars. Of the many distinguished items, some of the Brady photographs are shown.

From the Codman Collection of Landscape Architecture several fine books on plants and gardening have been selected. The most noteworthy is the *Hortus Sanitatis*, Augsburg 1488, with nearly five hundred woodcuts. Then there is William Turner's *Herbal*, 1568; John Gerard's *General History of Plants*, 1598; and *Thresor des Parterres de l'Univers*, Geneva 1629, with hundreds of engravings.

The great Franciscan Library brought together by Paul Sabatier was acquired in 1930. It is being constantly augmented and now consists of over three thousand volumes. It includes a dozen medieval manuscripts, such as a small breviary apparently used by the first disciples of the Saint; a beautiful fourteenth-century breviary with more than seventy illuminated miniatures; and lives of St. Francis and St. Claire. There are also a number of incunabula, among them the *Fioretti*, printed in Venice in 1490.

THREE cases contain the medieval manuscripts. A copy of St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, finished, according to the colophon, in July 1466, attracts the attention by its rich illuminated borders. The second page has a miniature of the Saint leading a procession of monks to the City of God where angels with harps are awaiting them; a picture on the third page shows him at his writing desk, his ink-horn held by a canon. The volume was acquired at the turn of the century; the other items are recent acquisitions. Among them is a twelfth-century folio containing St. Jerome's *De Viris Illustribus*, Eusebius's *Chronicon*, and Sigebert de Gembloux's *History*. The book is ornamented by several outline drawings. One of them represents Emperor Theodosius sitting on his throne and admonishing his sons, Arcadius and Honorius. Perhaps the finest manuscript in the Library is a Flemish Psalter from the early thirteenth century. The occupations of the months are illustrated by outline drawings, then follow eight full-page miniatures depicting scenes from the life of Jesus. The heavy black lines are reminiscent of

stained-glass windows; and the gold leaves are still applied directly (that is, without plaster) on the vellum. The writing is in a handsome Gothic style; the miniatures, however, are Romanesque, with the influence of Gothic barely felt.

On view is also the first volume of a magnificent thirteenth-century Great Bible. The eighty-five historiated initials are in exceptionally fine preservation. To the first leaf a Renaissance border has been added, bearing the coat-of-arms of Cardinal Antoine du Prat, Archbishop of Sens and Chancellor of France during the reign of François I. Mr. A. Chester Beatty was a former owner of the work. A small Italian fourteenth-century Picture Bible, consisting of forty-eight full-page miniatures, is the next item. The variety of iconography suggests that it may have served as a model-book for painters. The Library has eight Books of Hours, each representative of a different national style and period. Finest among them is the one made for the diocese of Rennes, in France, about 1400. Almost every leaf is adorned with illuminated borders of exquisite design, containing a multitude of grotesque figures. There are twenty-four large miniatures, several of which include the portrait of the owner — a Breton duchess of the De Quebriac family. Another Book of Hours represents Flemish decoration at the end of the fifteenth century. Over fifty leaves are enclosed in borders composed of flowers and architectural details in the naturalistic style of the Codex Grimani.

Miniatures *en grisaille*, that is, in shades of grey and without gold, are extremely rare. The Library is fortunate in having a copy of Guillaume de Tignonville's *Les Dits Moraulx des Philosophes* made probably during the author's lifetime, with twenty-four such miniatures, several of which are masterpieces of delicacy. A later example is a *Passion of Christ*, with seven half-page miniatures.

Christine de Pisan's *Les Trois Vertus* was copied in the middle of the fifteenth century, shortly after the death of the poetess. The first page has a double miniature, one showing Christine with the Three Graces, and the other, holding forth to a group of ladies. The work, addressed to women of all classes, is an important social document of the age. John Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*, written about 1430, is embellished with several full-

page borders in the characteristic English style. This long epic poem was designed as a continuation of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, supposedly told on the return journey of the pilgrims. On view is also a volume containing Honoré Bonet's *L'Arbre des Batailles* and other manuscripts in French. It once belonged to William Caxton, whose autograph occurs in three places. Bound at Bruges, the book was apparently acquired by the first English printer while he was Governor of the Merchant Adventurers in that city.

THE development of the Library's incunabula collection has been especially remarkable in the last fifteen years. Thanks to the Benton Fund, the collection contains now about five hundred items — nearly three times as many as before. Formerly, fifteenth-century books were chiefly studied from the typographical point of view, fruitful for the discovery of the date and place of printing of many obscure items. This approach has not been neglected in building up the Library's collection. However, at least equal consideration has been given to the contents of the books, their desirability for scholarly research. Thus, besides liturgical and theological works, the collection extends to the fields of history, philosophy, science, and classics, as well as contemporary literature. This is not one of the great collections of its kind, yet it is one of which the Library may be justly proud.

To be sure, the Library lacks a Gutenberg Bible, but it has a vellum copy of the *Catholicon*, 1460, ascribed to Gutenberg with even greater certainty. It has a beautiful copy of the Halberstadt *Missal*, the canon of which was printed with the types of the Great Psalter of 1457, by Peter Schoeffer, Gutenberg's partner. The woodcut books of Augsburg, Ulm, and Strassburg are especially numerous. An almost pristine copy of the *Poliphilus*, 1499, represents the work of Aldus Manutius, the great Venetian printer. St. Jerome's *Epistolae*, Ferrara 1487, in contemporary binding, is another famous product of the Italian press. From among French fifteenth-century books, a copy of Alain de Lille's *Parabola*, printed by Vérard in 1491 and containing nearly two hundred woodcuts, is shown. The nearly

thirty Spanish incunabula, many of them from the Ticknor Collection, constitute one of the largest groups of such books in the country. A copy of the *Usatges de Barcelona*, 1495, has been selected for the exhibit. Two of the English fifteenth-century books — Caxton's *Golden Legend* and Pynson's *Chaucer* — have been described earlier in this article.

IN some respects, fifteen-century printing has never been surpassed. The early printers were originally scribes, who carried their fine talents into their new medium; they produced books for the wealthy and the educated, for the few instead of the masses; and, in order to compete with the surviving art of illuminated manuscripts, they had to make their books attractive. They worked with great care, designing their own types, making their own ink, and using the best paper. At its very birth, the principles of the new art were established. In the succeeding centuries printing had to adapt itself to the spirit of each age, yet there has been continuity in its development.

In the fifteenth century, German and Italian printers were in the lead; the sixteenth century was the golden age of French printing; in the seventeenth century the printers of the Netherlands were most influential; and the eighteenth century finally saw English printing, with Caslon and Baskerville, come into its own. In the nineteenth century there was a decline of the art, until good printing was revived by William Morris, Cobden-Sanderson, and others. The work of the Kelmscott Press — with its *Golden Legend*, *Historyes of Troye*, and its great *Chaucer* — was archaic, yet, with its insistence on the sound principles of the early printers, it forecast the trend of the twentieth century. In America, the impetus of the Kelmscott Press started Daniel B. Updike, the founder of the Merrymount Press in Boston, on his career. His style, although based on a thorough knowledge of the past, was entirely modern. Bruce Rogers received his first inspiration from Geoffroi Tory. The selections of the Fifty Books of the Year testify to the variety and energy of contemporary American printing.

In French fine printing, decorative features have been of greater importance than pure typography. In England and

America the illustrators of books constitute a class, and few are known otherwise. In France, on the other hand, they have been recruited from among the great painters. There is an emphasis on illustration, at the expense of the unity of the volume. Nevertheless, books like Rouault's *Passion*, Maillol's *Eclogues*, and Picasso's *Metamorphoses* are among the most original and masterly works of the time. But the presses of all countries have their own characteristics. The Library, which has a comprehensive collection of modern English and American printing, has also acquired the most representative specimens of Continental book-making.

The exhibit will be on view during the winter.

Censorship in France During the Ancien Régime

By DAVID T. POTTINGER

I. The Nature of Censorship

CENSORSHIP, which becomes from time to time a burning question to twentieth-century publishers, was a lively issue throughout the ancien régime as well, but the emphasis fell upon a different section of the broad area of writing. Freedom of speech is nowadays largely concerned with statements of opinion in newspapers and magazines, which were a negligible part of earlier publishing. In the case of books we are generally more disturbed about indecency and, in spite of the situation at the moment, rather exceptionally about subversive doctrine. Almost the opposite is true of the ancien régime. Pornographic limits were much more extensive and there was far greater sensitiveness on matters of theology, philosophy, and politics. Freedom of thought and expression are eighteenth century concepts that had no existence in the intellectual outlook of earlier times.

To fifteenth- and sixteenth-century France censorship was a matter of course, for it merely carried on the medieval tradition. For several hundred years the making of books was the business only of the monasteries, each one making but a single copy of a work for its own library.¹ In 1275 Philip the Bold placed the booksellers and copyists of Paris under the control of the University, which then began officially to examine all books to see that they had been correctly copied and to put a fair price on them.² Laws passed in 1323, 1342, and 1403 stressed correctness of text.³ As Rashdall says, "No book might be sold or let out on hire (whether for reading or copying) till the correctness of the copy had been examined and the price or rate of hire fixed by a joint-board composed of four Masters and four Principal Booksellers annually nominated by the University."⁴ To an era preoccupied with theology, correctness was the great essential in editions of the Latin Bible, works of the Church Fathers, service books, missals,

and other ecclesiastical publications. In turn, the early humanists applied the same standards to printed editions of the classics, translations from current foreign languages as well as from Latin and Greek, and works in law and history. Only content, and not literary style or intrinsic value, was examined.⁵ Little attention was paid to volumes of poetry, literary criticism, and the sciences because these did not seem important and, as a matter of fact, they circulated only in limited circles of the nobility.

The Church, then, especially the doctors of the theological faculty of the University of Paris were the group at first most deeply interested in censorship. Acting upon medieval precedent they maintained an absolute control over the book trade, a connection that was emphasized in decrees issued in 1513, 1515, and 1516. Oversight was a simple matter partly because the University was all-powerful and partly because the small community of printers lived and worked in the University section of the city.

As time went on and the commercial possibilities in the printed book became apparent, printers and publishers began to look for some way to strengthen their own interests.⁶ They naturally turned to the highest court in the land, the Parlement, for an official confirmation of their rights in various pieces of literary property. The line of demarcation between the authority of the University and the authority of the Parlement at once became indistinct. The two bodies worked in harmony as a rule, but the Parlement was always ready to cut through the delays caused by prolonged arguments of the doctors and come to the relief of a publisher worried by the tying-up of his capital. In any case, however, books were inspected only *after* they were ready for the public. The printers, not the authors, were held responsible for correctness and orthodoxy. It took the authorities some time to realize that inspection should be applied *before* printing, that is, while a book was still in manuscript.

By 1518 Luther's books began to circulate in France. In 1521 the Faculty of Theology censured the new heresy and condemned several Lutheran books. The King now awoke to the danger and on 13 June 1521 issued a law forbidding the pub-

lishers to print, sell, or distribute any book not previously examined and approved by the Faculty of Theology.⁷ This decree, of course, merely confirmed and drew attention to long-established practice. On Saturday 3 August 1521 the Parlement sent its criers throughout the streets ordering all owners of Lutheran books to deposit them with the Court within a week. During the next few years the Parlement led the forces of authority against the heretics,⁸ burning their books, forbidding translations of the Apocalypse, claiming the right to inspect bookshops and confiscate heretical works, and even condemning two heretical printers to be burned alive in the Place Maubert.

The year 1533 marks the high point of the reformers' influence at the royal court. Reaction came the next year with the disgraceful incident of the placards which led to the hasty decree of 13 January 1535 forbidding all printing whatsoever upon pain of hanging and also ordering the closing of all bookshops. The foolishness of this law was recognized at once and a month later the whole printing business was placed in charge of a commission of the Parlement to determine what books should be approved as necessary.⁹

At this moment censorship was invoked over two subjects that had not had much attention hitherto.¹⁰ In the first instance (1536), the Dean and the Faculty of Medicine of the University brought suit against Jean Thibault, a self-styled physician-in-ordinary to the King, because of his books on medicine and astrology. The Parlement ordered him to submit to an oral examination regarding his technical knowledge and his success as a practitioner and suspended the sale of his books until they should be investigated by the Faculty. A general law was also passed forbidding anyone to write or to publish any medical books without approval by three members of the Medical Faculty. The second case (1538) was that of Villanovanus, who had written several books on astrology, divination, and political prophecy. These were condemned by the Faculty of Theology, and the Parlement forbade the printing or selling of any more such books unless they were approved by the Faculty of Medicine as well as by the theologians. In 1554 the University confirmed the action in these two cases by a regulation forbidding all printers to issue any book unless the Rec-

tor and the Deans of the higher faculties had been informed about it and two masters from the appropriate Faculty had examined it.¹¹

Nevertheless until the *ordonnance* of Moulins was issued in February 1566 heresy continued to be the main concern of the authorities. In 1543 the Faculty of Theology issued its first Index of condemned books, a list of sixty-five items, all of them theological.¹² A law of 11 December 1547 ordered that the name and surname of the author, the name of the printer, and his address be printed at the beginning of every book. The same law renewed the prohibition against religious books not inspected and approved by the Faculty of Theology. Reflecting the activities of the Council of Trent, the great *édit* of Chateaubriand was issued 27 June 1551 as an attempt to co-ordinate all the measures for the defence of the faith; it is, in Lemmonier's words, "a declaration of the rights and duties of the State in religious matters, according to the doctrine of the time." Those sections which pertain to the book trade make specific mention only of theological works. They forbid the importation of books "from Geneva" and other places separated from the Church; the printing, selling, or having in one's possession any books on the University's Index; the translation of any part of the Bible or of the Church Fathers; the printing or selling of "books, commentaries, scholia, annotations, tables, indexes, epitomes, or summaries concerning Holy Scripture and the Christian religion that have been written within the past forty years in any language." All such books must be examined by the Faculty of Theology and, if not approved, must be surrendered. There are, in addition, most elaborate precautions against fraud, illegal importation, and illicit selling. The Church and its doctrines seem to have been, at least theoretically, protected in every possible way.

The civil wars lasting from 1562 to 1598 brought an extension and tightening of censorship. As early as September 1563 all persons were forbidden to print or publish any books or other writings, in verse or in prose, without permission from the King.¹³ The more comprehensive *ordonnance* of Moulins makes the first specific mention of books outside the fields of religion and medicine. It forbids the writing, printing, or sell-

ing of defamatory books, that is, books aimed against the honor and good name of individuals; and there are further provisions that no one is to print any book without a permit and a privilege sealed by the Great Seal and that the printer's name and address and copies of the permit and the privilege must appear in the book. Lest this should seem to affect the prerogatives of the Faculty of Theology, the latter's traditional position regarding religious books was restated in 1569 and 1570. The Parlement, to facilitate their work, authorized the Faculty to send their deputies, along with a police officer, into the bookshops in search of forbidden material.¹⁴ From such laws and from the *édit* of Gaillon (1571) it is evident that the civil authorities recognized the inability of the Faculty to cope with the flood of political writing in addition to books on religious subjects. Execution of the law was placed directly in the hands of the guild, and the guild officers were also charged to examine the quality of paper and printing in all books. Offenders were to be haled before a civil or criminal judge — not before the University assembly. All this marks a profound shift. Objectionable books could no longer be controlled by an academic censorship working upon authors through the granting or withholding of a permit to print.¹⁵ That traditional check had to be reinforced by *post facto* repression exercised by the State itself working through technical trade channels. The law further stipulates that authors as well as printers and publishers shall be prosecuted and punished.

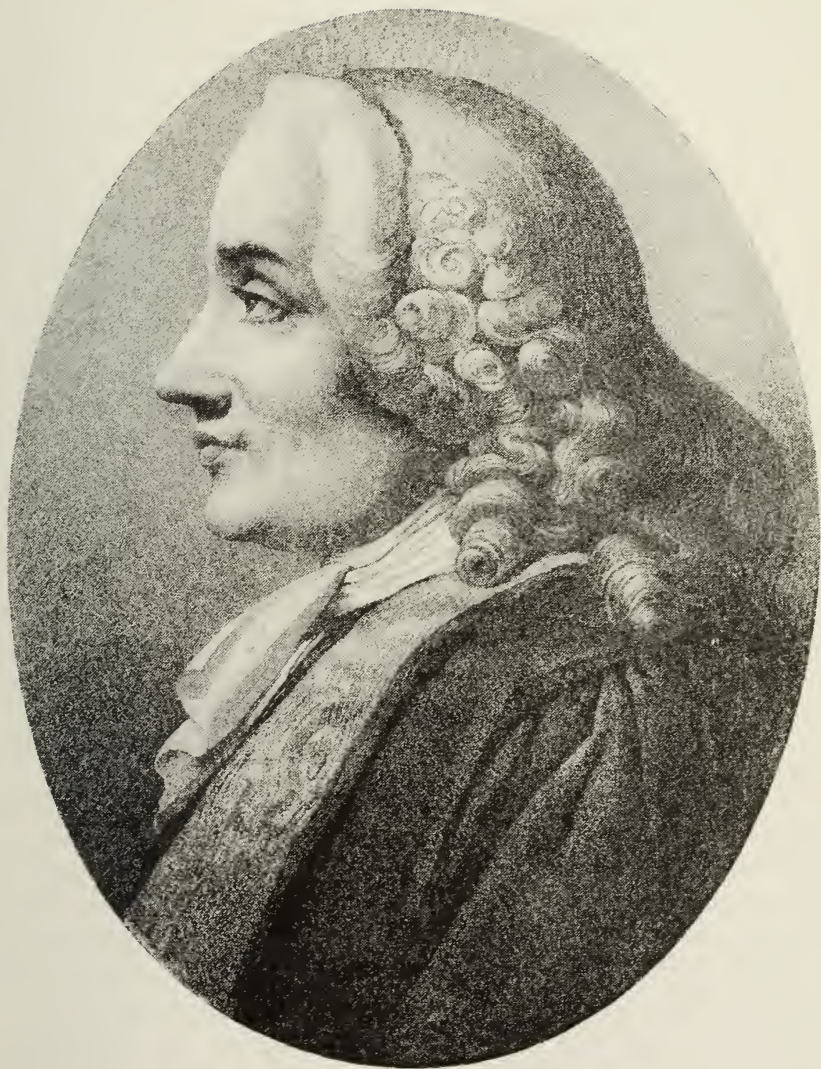
Practically without exception during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the censorship laws were aimed against heresy, sedition, and personal libel exclusively. In other words, the laws protected the Church, the monarchy, and the individual's reputation. The publication of almanacs and prognostications, unless approved by a bishop, was again forbidden in 1560, but this was probably a recognition of the civil dangers from wild-eyed sectaries rather than of the psychological harm to the individual from apocalyptic nonsense. Although the law of 27 June 1551 says that the Faculty of Theology must certify that a book is good, lawful, and without vice, it is evident that "vice" meant heresy or sedition rather than obscenity. The first suggestion of sensitiveness to immorality or indecency is

in the law of January 1629. The laws of 1723 and 1728 specifically mention "purity of morals" and "the morals of the public." An improved social outlook led the more respectable sections of the reading public to consider Rabelais and many of his contemporaries coarse.¹⁶ Nevertheless, in spite of increasing refinement of manners, the government was never so much concerned about looseness of morals as it was about freedom of thought. The situation parallels that in England, where "the authorities were chiefly, and vigilantly, on the watch for subversive political and religious utterances . . . but censorship rarely operated in the field of morals, and in the treatment of sex writers may be said to have enjoyed pretty full freedom."¹⁷

II. The Censoring Authorities

ALTHOUGH the guild, as the legal organization of the trade, was called upon to exercise police surveillance, there is little to indicate that the publishers and printers felt responsible for the maintenance of the standards set up by the censorship laws. There was none of the ethical vision which leads practically all of our contemporary publishing houses to exert a fundamental censorship by refusing to issue manuscripts of a seditious, libelous, scandalous, or immoral nature. Indeed the publishers were quick to recognize and exploit the fact that suppression was a powerful form of advertising that usually resulted in greater sales and higher prices. Authors like Voltaire aided and abetted them in securing the condemnation of books with just this object in view. The government put an unwarranted burden on the trade, for instance in the laws of 1571, 1643, and 1649, which specified that the guild officials should inspect all shops twice a year to see that no heretical or defamatory book was published and that only good paper and clear type was used.¹⁸ Such provisions left the doors wide open to personal recrimination, the stifling of competition, and double-dealing.

The Church, as an institution, played little part in this matter. Bishops had complete freedom for the printing of missals, breviaries, catechisms, and similar religious books for use in



A Portrait of Malesherbes (1721-94)

their own dioceses, as well as control over the textbooks used in the folk schools. This was also true of religious orders and congregations. The high officials in Rome were not allowed to interfere with publishing in France, but the inclusion of a book on the Roman Index and the expressed attitude of the hierarchy in any definite case doubtless influenced the French authorities to a considerable extent.¹⁹

As we have just seen, the main censoring body at first was the Faculty of Theology of the University of Paris, which based its rights upon a tradition going far back into the mists of the Middle Ages. This right had been confirmed by law after law during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. During the seventeenth, however, the influence and prestige of the University declined.²⁰ At the funeral of Louis XIII in 1643, for instance, the Rector and his suite were given only half as many places as they had had at the funeral of Henri IV. During the first part of the century the University engaged in a stubborn fight against the Jesuits, and during the second half began the long struggle between the Jansenists and the upholders of the Gallican liberties. The number of professors decreased; the University withdrew into itself and fostered its outmoded traditions, which were threatened by the Cartesian philosophy and by the beginnings of experimental science. The enfeebled Faculty of Theology threw up its hands before the increasing flood of writing and confessed it had to limit its attention to the books that seemed likely to do most harm. In 1618 the printers, publishers, and binders, without consulting the University, selected a committee from their own number which recommended and put through a complete reorganization of the industry. The *édit* of 1686 marked the end of the University's jurisdiction over the book trade.²¹

The Parlements, and especially the chief one, that of Paris, attempted with equal lack of success to maintain a claim to censorship authority. It sometimes agreed with the Faculty of Theology, often disagreed; sometimes called upon the Faculty for help, sometimes insisted upon its own prior authority. Both Henri II and Louis XIII forbade it to interfere in the granting of permits, and yet as late as 1690 it attempted to assert its rights. As a matter of fact, the only publication over

which it had undisputed control were those pertaining to official legal matters, such as memoirs involved in pending court cases.²²

The police had a minor but not negligible part in the censorship. From the beginning of the seventeenth century they were authorized to issue permits for small books and pamphlets, which were defined as those not exceeding the length of two sheets printed in Cicero (pica or 12-point type). But the police were venal and, with unlimited opportunities for dishonesty, carried on a large and profitable trade in forbidden books and pamphlets.²³ Their morale, it must be confessed, was not at all strengthened by the fact that they were largely dependent upon spies and informers who were rewarded by receiving half the fine imposed in each case.

Establishment of a board of lay censors directly responsible to the civil government was the result of vague and groping effort. The laws of 1563, 1566, and 1586 stated that no "new" books, that is, books of contemporary authorship, were to be issued without a royal permit; but the machinery for obtaining such a permit was not defined. The *maitres des requêtes* examined law and history. Theology and religion remained under control of the Faculty of Theology, which communicated its decision to the Chancellor, he in turn issuing the permit and the "privilege" for exclusive publishing rights. Books in other categories were evidently not examined at all. The great increase in the number of new books early in the seventeenth century led to an unmanageable increase in the number of examiners. Inspection was done carelessly: authors and publishers, according to Chevillier (pp. 396-404), often forged notes of approval, and the Chancellery itself neglected its duty. The States-General of 1614 took note of the situation and so did the Assembly of Notables of 1617.²⁴

Matters came to a head in 1623 when the Faculty of Theology was torn apart by a quarrel concerning the authority of the pope and that of the Church Councils. According to the *Encyclopédie* (vol. II, s. v. "Censeurs de livres") André Duval, the leader of one of the parties, feared that he would be overwhelmed by the tremendous amount of writing from his opponents. He therefore secured from the King (22 March 1623) letters patent

granting himself and three of his sympathizers the exclusive right to read and approve manuscripts, with a stipend of 2000 livres to be divided among the four. Jourdain and Chevillier assume that this right applied only to religious books. The Faculty of course objected vigorously not only because it was deprived of its traditional rights but because it considered the granting of a stipend undignified. In December 1623 it issued new regulations in an attempt to evade the recent law. Nevertheless the King confirmed the latter in August 1624 with only a slight concession to the remonstrants. No overtures could placate the injured pride of the Faculty, however, and the uproar was so great that Duval and his friends resigned in 1626.

The *édit* of 1624 applied only to "new" books concerning theology, religion, devotion, piety, and morals. Its most interesting items were the provisions for the payment of the censors and for the perpetuation of the board:

In order to confer upon said examiners some honor and profit, as well as in consideration of their labors and pains in matters so important to our service and to the public, we desire that the four Doctors named by us and their successors to these offices shall enjoy the same honors, privileges, immunities, franchises, exemptions, and prerogatives as our ordinary almoners and our other domestics and commensals just as if they were specified on the Civil List. To these four censors we have allocated for each year, beginning on the first of January last, two thousand livres in wages and pensions, to be distributed among them as follows: to each of the two oldest, six hundred livres; and to each of the other two, four hundred livres. The payment of this sum of two thousand livres we have by these presents assigned and constituted on the most available ordinary funds of our General Paris Receipts. We wish that it shall be paid them from quarter to quarter by the collectors of this tax, each one in the year of his incumbency and that to this intent our beloved and faithful Presidents and Treasurers General of France in the said generality shall hereafter include this sum in the budget which they make annually, to be paid and acquitted as an ordinary charge just like the salaries of the professors and readers in theology established in the University of Paris by the late King our father and like the salary of the third professor and reader in theology established by us and other like wages, fiefs, alms, and necessary expenses which are usually included in said budgets, without any retrenchment or diminution for any cause or pretext whatever. The payments shall be passed and granted . . . by virtue of simple receipts of the said censors and

examiners by our beloved and faithful councilors, the keepers of our accounts.²⁵

In case of vacancy through death or resignation, the juniors shall step up and the resulting fourth place is to be filled by an election conducted by the Doctors of the Sorbonne and two Doctors of Theology from the Collège de Navarre. The Chancellor is to issue letters of confirmation to the elected candidate. By this provision as well as by control of the salary, the Crown managed to identify the board of censors with the government rather than with the University.

In July 1624 another decree had been issued forbidding the unauthorized publication of books and pamphlets concerning political matters and affairs of state. Permission was to come from the Chancellor, who was probably considered competent to deal with such subjects through his regular staff of lawyers.

In spite of these two regulations of 1624, it is evident that many categories of books were still not definitely included in the censorship net. Furthermore, the laws were too vague to withstand much pressure. Even though the University resumed its practice after the resignation of Duval, it was impotent to deal with fresh theological disputes. The whole state was still suffering from the chaos of the civil war, a condition from which it recovered only as Richelieu grew in power. At length in January 1629 the Code Michaud, "the only important legislative work of the reign of Louis XIII," undertook to settle the national difficulties. The fifty-second of its 453 Articles deals with censorship, but in a way that proved unsatisfactory.²⁶ Not much further was done, however, until in 1653 Chancellor Séguier definitely deprived the Faculty of Theology of their rights in this matter, appointed three or four of their number as royal censors of theological books only, and made them responsible to himself.²⁷ This board and its successors formed the basis for censorship practice until the Revolution. The arrangement was confirmed in general by the Code of 1723 and strengthened in detail by the law of 1728.

Difficulties still confronted the government, partly because the publishing business continued to increase enormously. In contrast to Maugis' calculation (II, 310) of about six hundred books passed upon, that is, authorized or condemned, by the

Parlement during the sixteenth century, Bachman (p. 128) gives a list of over a thousand titles condemned between 1700 and 1750, a total that could be doubled if there were an orderly register for this period. Rocquain²⁸ estimates that some eight hundred titles were suppressed or ordered burned between 1715 and 1789; but this figure includes only those condemned by the Conseil d'Etat, the Parlement, the Châtelet, and the Grand Conseil, not those condemned by the Church authorities and by the civil courts of the provinces.

By 1740 a reorganization of the censors' office was imperative. The board had increased to seventy-six members. They received no salary but, as it worked out, the position assured the holder's social standing, opened the doors to membership in various Academies, and led to a pension of four hundred livres after twenty years of service.²⁹ They were divided according to subjects in which they read, no one being allowed to go outside his own field. From 1742 to 1790 their names were listed in the *Almanach Royal* as regular governmental appointees. The following table, made up from the *Almanach* at approximately five-year intervals, shows the steady increase in the totals and the fluctuations within the subject-divisions.

	Theology	Jurisprudence	Medicine	Natural history	Chemistry	Surgery	Mathematics	Belles lettres	History	Prints	Geography	Voyages	Architecture	Hydraulics	Painting	Music	Total
1742	10	10	10	2	8	35	1										76
1750	7	11	13	2	7	37	1	1									79
1756	10	14	16	3	10	52	1	1									107
1761	13	14	18	3	10	60	1	1	1								121
1766	12	18	20	4	8	55		3									120
1770	15	17	20	4	8	60		3									127
1775	17	17	19	4	6	54		3									120
1780	15	19	29	4	8	63		4									142
1785	15	32	36		8	80		2	2	1	2	1	2	1			179
1790	13	34	30		9	78		1	2	1	2	1	2	1			171

Table 1 — Numbers of Royal Censors (based on *Almanach Royal*)

During the later seventeenth century general governmental

control over the trade gradually settled into the organization it maintained through the remaining decades of the ancien régime. The responsible minister in charge was the Chancellor or the Keeper of the Seals, who of course had many other duties of state. Under him were two departments: the *bureau contentieux de la librairie*, to which was referred all litigation between printers and publishers; and the *bureau gracieux de la librairie*, which handled censorship business. These two were in charge of a single Director who received no salary but was given a copy of every new book.³⁰ Right up to the end of the eighteenth century, it is true, the University kept insisting that its old rights of exclusive control should be restored, and the Parlement also maintained its claims, condemning or suppressing sixty-five books even in the period from 1775 to 1789.

Nevertheless the office of Director of the Book Trade increased in importance, mainly because the holder was usually a man of recognized merit. In 1715 he was the Abbé Bignon, a Councillor and the King's librarian. His successors were Fleurian d'Armenonville (1722), Chauvelin fils (1727), Rouillé (1737), Count d'Argenson, the brother of the author of the *Mémoires* (1737), and Maboul (1740-1750). In 1750 Lamoignon de Blancmesnil became Chancellor and appointed his twenty-nine year old son Lamoignon de Malesherbes to the post of Director. Cultured, just, and liberal, the latter maintained his beneficent control for thirteen years. He was succeeded in 1763 by Sartine, who had been lieutenant of police since 1759. Sartine delegated many of his duties to one of his secretaries, a little-known journalist named Marin who had served as a royal censor. In 1774 Sartine was made Minister of the Marine, and Albert, his successor as lieutenant of police, followed him as Director of the Book Trade. In 1776 Le Camus de Neville assumed the office and during his term put through a complete modernization of the trade. He was succeeded in 1783 by Laurens de Villedeuil and in 1785 by Vidaud de la Tour, who stayed till the Revolution.³¹

The Director worked in very close relations with the lieutenant of police, who had himself various minor censorship powers but who had so many other duties that in 1737 he appointed as his deputy a special inspector for the book trade

with large but vaguely defined duties and authority. The most efficient of these inspectors was the famous Joseph d'Hémery, who served from 1757 to 1773. He was competent, conscientious, and intimately acquainted with every aspect of his job. His voluminous records, preserved in the Collection Anisson-Duperron at the Bibliothèque Nationale, are invaluable source material for our subject.

III. Malesherbes as Director of the Book Trade

OF all the officials we have just mentioned, the outstanding one was Malesherbes. Member of an ancient noble family, he was a conservative in his devotion to the King. Intellectually he was a liberal, but a liberal who did not lose his common sense and judgment. By the time he took over at the Chancellery the censorship had lost all effectiveness, partly because of internal weakness as an institution and partly because of public disapproval. And this was the moment when all the new winds of doctrine began to blow with hurricane intensity, when the irresistible forces that culminated in the Revolution and the modern world gathered strength for their great onslaught. It was a difficult situation especially for so young a man. During his term of office the first eight volumes of the *Encyclopédie* were published, and the major works of Voltaire, Diderot, Maupertuis, D'Alembert, Rousseau, Helvétius, Morellet, Mirabeau, and D'Holbach. If the *philosophes* were prolific, their opponents were no less vociferous. Bruntière has counted 4480 requests for permissions in the Chancellery records from 24 December 1750 to 1 October 1763.³²

To handle all this business Malesherbes supplemented the regular form of permission by a consistent and general use of the *permission tacite*. This device had been more or less in use ever since the end of the reign of Louis XIV to cover books for which the Director did not wish to take full responsibility. It was issued on the advice of a censor and registered in the Chancellor's office, in the headquarters of the guild, and with the lieutenant of police. But it was not sealed with the Great

Seal; and since it was not printed in the edition itself, the public did not see the name of the censor. In the register of requests for such permits from 1 November 1772 to 29 December 1778, Pellisson (pp. 7, 12) counted 2062 items and estimated that three quarters or perhaps even four fifths were granted. In the case of other books for which the Director took still less responsibility but which he did not feel justified in absolutely forbidding, the lieutenant of police issued verbally a *permission clandestine* or *simple tolérance*.³³ This authorized the printer to get out a secret edition with the assurance that the police would ignore it or would warn the printer of a possible raid on his shop. These manuscripts were not examined by the censors, and the printed volumes could be suppressed. Finally there was an increasingly large number of books which were published without any pretence of going through the motions of the law and without much attempt to conceal their origin.

The use of these subterfuges might seem to lay Malesherbes open to the charge of dereliction of duty. This, however, was no time for nice definitions; arbitrary measures of repression were impossible and the wise administrator had to do what he could. There never had been any thorough respect for the law in France, and to this national cynicism was now added a virtually uncontrollable force of public opinion against every form of censorship.

In 1759, when the intellectual struggle seemed to be going as badly as the military campaigns of the Seven Years' War, the Dauphin asked Malesherbes for a complete report on governmental regulation of the publishing business. The Director thereupon submitted five memoirs which were published in 1809 together with a long work on freedom of the press that he had written in 1788 just as the States-General was about to assemble. These six pieces are documents of major significance for any consideration of the problems of censorship, freedom of thought and speech, and control of the press. They should be much better known than they are.

A few items must suffice to indicate the spirit of this book and the principles on which Malesherbes worked. In the first place, he pointed out the inadequacy of the machinery for cen-

soring. The censors had only vague instructions regarding their duties and the limits of their authority. Some thought they ought to forbid books not only because of their content but because of failure to meet literary standards. Since there was no coördination between departments of the government, the censor could not know whether a given book might not reveal state secrets or insult foreign allies. The jealousy between the Parlement and the Chancery was particularly annoying. The penalty sections of the law were obscure and so rigorous that everyone recognized the impossibility of executing them. In many cases it was necessary or advisable for the publisher to begin setting and printing a book before he got a permit; and the censor was therefore under a good deal of pressure to approve the printed sheets just as they were submitted to him rather than to force the publisher to waste time and money by printing cancels.³⁴

In the theory of the censorship itself Malesherbes found much to criticize. Unless there is freedom of expression, he said, new truths — which are often thought to be errors — will be suffocated by ignorance, pride, and personal emotion. Theology, it is true, is not a progressive science, because religion was perfect when it was given to us; but metaphysics and history are in a different position. In these two subjects it is better to persuade the author to soften or make exceptions to his statements rather than to drive him to clandestine or foreign printing. There are too many repressive laws, they go into too much detail, they do not protect the censors from public reproach.

The public, indeed, must assume a great deal of responsibility for the present situation. The book business has become so large that there are important vested interests to be considered. Readers are so eager to get new books that it is impossible to limit the supply in certain fields. The trade in banned books is favored by the whole public; and dealers and publishers can easily get protection from ministers of state, bishops, and magistrates, who in their desire to be the first to have an illegal book can be won over by the gift of advance copies. "There is scarcely any booklover who is not sensible to such attention."³⁵

Malesherbes quietly stated his own point of view: "My whole system of administration is founded on the belief that we must tolerate many small abuses in order to avoid the large ones." "We must seek the remedy not in severity but in tolerance." "If you have only rigor to oppose to harmful books, it will be useless. Authority must be used with caution; resist only those evils which it is necessary and possible to remedy." To carry out these principles his first memoir suggested making authors responsible for their works, regardless of the censor; making the censors responsible solely to the Chancellor; limiting to a small number of items the grounds on which permits would be refused; using all severity possible against those who would print without a permit; and prescribing only fixed and definite rules for the censors. The third memoir proposed that censorship be limited to matters concerning religion, morals, and the sovereign authority and that books on all other matters, especially legislation, politics, and finance, should appear at the author's risk without examination. By 1788, when he had been out of responsible contact with these problems for a quarter of a century, Malesherbes went even further and urged that the only solution was to abolish censorship for everything except those books that disturb the public peace, those that are indecent, and defamatory libels; but he admitted that even this solution would have its difficulties.

Malesherbes' fame does not, however, rest so much upon his proposals for reform nor even upon his basic theories as upon his practical administrative work. And no one has summarized that better than La Harpe: "He gave to productions of the mind and to the interchange of thought an honest and decent liberty."³⁶

(To be concluded)

Notes

To a considerable extent, this article is based upon material in the Boston Public Library. The author wishes to express his grati-

tude to the officials of the Library for their many courtesies during the course of his research.

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3. André Chevallier, *L'Origine de l'imprimerie de Paris* (Paris, 1694) p. 395.
4. Hastings Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1895), I, 415-417; Jean Baptiste Louis Crévier, *Histoire de l'université de Paris depuis son origine jusqu'en l'année 1600*, 7 vols. (Paris, 1761), II, 284-288.
5. Maurice Pellisson, *Les Hommes de lettres au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1911), p. 9.
6. Edouard Maugis, *Histoire du Parlement de Paris*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1913-1916), II, 310-351.
7. César Egasse DuBoulay, *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1665-1673), VI, 128.
8. *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris sous le règne de François I (1515-1536)*, ed. Ludovic Lalanne (Paris, 1854), pp. 104, 169, 234, 276; Jean Michel Constant Léber, *De l'Etat réel de la presse et des pamphlets depuis François I jusqu'à Louis XIV* (Paris, 1834), p. 9.
9. Ernest Lavisse, *Histoire de France*, V, 1, Henri Lemonnier, *Les Guerres d'Italie* (Paris, 1903), p. 379.
10. Maugis, II, 326-330; Isambert, Jourdain, Decrusy, *Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises*, 29 vols. (Paris, 1821-1833), XII, 499-502. Footnote references to specific laws will hereafter be omitted because most of the documents may be found in their chronological order in Isambert or else in the copious index to Claude Marin Saugrain, *Code de la librairie et imprimerie de Paris* (Paris, 1744). If a law is not available in these sources, reference to another work will be given.
11. Peignot, p. 57.
12. Lavisse and Lemonnier, V, 1, 385-386; Peignot, pp. 55-56.
13. Article 21 of the Edict of Nantes (1598) permits the publication of Protestant books but only in those towns where exercise of the reformed religion was allowed; Chevallier, p. 385.
14. Crévier, VI, 259-260.
15. Edouard Tromp, *Etude sur l'organisation et l'histoire de la communauté des libraires et imprimeurs de Paris (1618-1791)* (Paris, 1922), pp. 18-20.
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19. Leon Sabatié, *La censure* (Paris, 1908), pp. 67-76.
20. Jourdain, I, 274-329.
21. Tromp, p. 76; Jourdain, II, 26-28.

22. Pierre François Muyart de Vouglans, *Institutes au droit criminel* (Paris, 1768), pp. 493-494.
23. Albert Bachman, *Censorship in France from 1715 to 1750: Voltaire's Opposition* (New York, 1934), p. 90.
24. Jourdain, I, 154-156.
25. Chevillier, p. 399.
26. See below, Section IV.
27. Sabatié, p. 57; Paul Mellottée, *Histoire économique de l'imprimerie* (Paris, 1905), p. 54.
28. Felix Theodor Rocquain, *L'Esprit révolutionnaire avant la Révolution* (Paris, 1878), pp. 489-535.
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30. E. J. F. Barbier, *Journal historique et anecdotique du règne de Louis XV*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1847-1856), III, 209-210.
31. Belin, pp. 119-127. Augustin Martin Lottin, *Catalogue chronologique des libraires et libraires-imprimeurs de Paris* (Paris, 1789).
32. Pellisson, p. 12.
33. De Lamoignon de Malesherbes, *Mémoires sur la librairie et sur la liberté de la presse* (Paris, 1809), pp. 310, 245-256, 313-315.
34. Malesherbes, p. 253; Ferdinand Brunetière, *Études critiques sur l'histoire de la littérature française*, deuxième série, 3d ed. (Paris, 1889), pp. 173-188.
35. Malesherbes, pp. 320-321.
36. Jean François de la Harpe, *Correspondance littéraire*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1801-1807), I, 53.

Shakespeare and Melville's *Pierre*

By ELINOR YAGGY

IN both *Moby Dick* and *Pierre* Melville was attacking fallacies in the prevailing Transcendental thought. He was not convinced that this was a simple, benign world, where by following his intuition or his conscience one could be sure of ample rewards. Simple surfaces often hid stygian abysses. In *Pierre* the deceptiveness of appearances, which was discussed so magnificently in *Moby Dick*, became the major theme. What wise, mad old Ahab knew Pierre learned. The complete title of the novel is, indeed, *Pierre; or, the Ambiguities*.

Current emphasis on the Hamlet motif in *Pierre* has deflected readers from this basic purpose. Incest may have been part of Melville's concern, but it was not his greatest concern. The sweep of his mind was too large to be content with smaller issues. He had both the faults and the virtues of the untrained thinker; working from the top down, he reached first for universals. His major attacks were always on those broad universal values; individual personal sins were the minor supporting issues. The present article suggests that *Hamlet* and the incest theme be made secondary and that *Romeo and Juliet* be considered the primary organic influence on *Pierre*.

Shakespeare's Prince of Verona may have given Melville the specific stimulus for *Pierre* when he spoke at the end of the play of clearing up "these ambiguities." There can be no question of Melville's interest in ambiguities. He includes it in the title. A clear exposition of the problem appears in "Chronometricals and Horologicals," which confused the naive Pierre as he set out on his quixotic elopement and for which he searched later as a possible clue when he realized at last the inadequacy of his superficial philosophy. Pierre's last soliloquy, "It is ambiguous still," gives it the closing emphasis.

There is ample evidence of Melville's involvement with *Romeo and Juliet*. He pointed directly to it when he was setting his stage. There is a fine dramatic irony in this early dialogue between Pierre and his mother.

"... you are a Romeo, you know, and so for the present I pass over your nonsense."

"Romeo! oh, no. I am far from being Romeo—" sighed Pierre. "I laugh, but he cried; poor Romeo! alas Romeo! woe is me, Romeo! he came to a very deplorable end, did Romeo . . ."

"It was his own fault though."

"Poor Romeo!"

"He was disobedient to his parents."

"Alas Romeo!"

"He married against their particular wishes."

"Woe is me, Romeo!"

"But you, Pierre, are going to be married before long, I trust, not to a Capulet, but one of our own Montagues; and so Romeo's evil fortune will hardly be yours. You will be happy."

"The more miserable Romeo!"*

There is another sly piece of direct evidence that Melville was thinking of the Verona play. Toward the close of three pages of delirious panegyric to love and feminine beauty, Melville's subtly ironic tribute to Lucy in the early part of the book, he inserted, apparently apropos of nothing: "Italy hath not a sight before the beauty of a Yankee girl; nor heaven a blessing beyond her earthly love." (P. 44.)

According to some of their critics, both *Pierre* and *Romeo and Juliet* suffer from the same dramatic weakness: an over-emphasis on fate rather than character. Shakespeare's brief prologue says "A pair of star-cross'd lovers take their lives." Midway in the play Romeo recognized it when he cried out, "O, I am fortune's fool!" (III.I. 141) a line Pierre echoed when he called himself "the fool of fate."

As an inheritor of the medieval tradition, Shakespeare had no reason to reject fate as a deciding factor in his play. Tragedy based on the fall from high estate or on the turn of the wheel of fortune was an integral part of his native dramatic heritage. Objection to fate as a catastrophic element belongs to one phase of the classic tradition and to the later optimistic school which tended to elevate free will above all extra-human interference.

During the 1840's and '50's Transcendental optimism about the power of the human will was the generally accepted attitude

*Herman Melville, *Pierre; or The Ambiguities*, New York, 1852. All references to *Pierre* are to this edition, a copy of which is in the Boston Public Library.

of both popular and philosophic American writers. But Melville had already made his divergence clear when he described Ishmael and Queequeg weaving the sword-mat in Chapter XLVII of *Moby Dick*, "The Mat-Maker." He did not deny free will there, nor did he in *Pierre*, but he circumscribed it by allowing it to work only within the framework of necessity and chance. Shakespeare's emphasis on fate might well have drawn Melville to *Romeo and Juliet* when he found so little to agree with in the writings of his own time. Significantly, in *Pierre* Melville changed the term "necessity," used in *Moby Dick*, to Shakespeare's term, "fate."

Fate is certainly stressed in *Pierre*. It appears with a capital *F* time after time. After putting his hero on a pedestal, Melville wrote in the introductory chapter ". . . we shall see if he keeps that fine footing; we shall see if Fate hath not just a little bit of a small word or two to say in this world." (P. 13.) Lest the reader miss the significance of the statement, he repeated it verbatim two pages later. Midway in the book he wrote "Pierre was not arguing Fixed Fate and Free Will now; Fixed Fate and Free Will were arguing him, and Fixed Fate got the better in the debate." (P. 247.)

But despite all the direct pointing to fate in both *Pierre* and *Romeo and Juliet*, it actually shared a good deal of the responsibility for the tragedy with too-impulsive youthful action. Both Shakespeare and Melville make that point equally clear. In Acts II and III, Friar Laurence commented repeatedly on Romeo's hotheadedness: "Wisely and slow; they stumble that run fast." "These violent delights have violent ends . . ." ". . . love moderately; long love doth so;/Too swift arrives as tardy as too slow." ". . . thy wild acts denote/The unreasonable fury of a beast . . ." "thou hast amazed me . . ./I thought thy disposition better temper'd." Similarly Melville introduced Pierre as "quite young and very unphilosophical as yet, and withal rather high-blooded." (P. 14.) Throughout he referred to Pierre as "our young enthusiast," and called attention to his "spontaneous responsiveness." The title for Book VIII even ended "Immediate Impulsive Effect Upon Pierre." When Isabel's letter set Pierre's world whirling about his head, Melville chided him for his gullibility: "Pierre! thou art foolish . . ."

Such a note as thine can be easily enough written, Pierre; impostors are not unknown in this curious world; or the brisk novelist, Pierre, will write thee fifty such notes, and so steal gushing tears from his reader's eyes; even as *thy* note so strangely made thine own manly eyes so arid; so glazed, and so arid, Pierre — foolish Pierre! (P. 92.)

Readers of both works are liberally warned that the heroes brought on their woes by rushing impulsively into action without due consideration of the underlying complexities of the situations and the possible consequences of their actions.

EVEN more important than these obvious similarities of theme and character in establishing the influence of *Romeo and Juliet* on Melville's thinking as he wrote *Pierre* are a host of smaller similarities and of indirect, frequently confused borrowings. Sometimes a direct likeness appears briefly before shifting to another association; sometimes snatches of dialogue appear clearly like Shakespeare's, perhaps slightly garbled. The sum of these little things shows that Melville's mind was so steeped in the play that it crept in anywhere and everywhere, with and without his volition.

Both works stress the equal social positions of one pair of lovers: Romeo and Juliet, and Pierre and Lucy. In melancholy moods Romeo and Pierre wandered off in the woods, shunning their usual companions. At first each thought himself irrevocably in love with a girl about whom he made the most extravagant compliments. Romeo exclaimed of Rosaline: "One fairer than my love! the all-seeing sun/Ne'er saw her match since first the world begun." (I.2.97-8.) Pierre said of Lucy: "By heavens, mother, the five zones hold not such another!" (P. 23.) Yet almost immediately each formed a new alliance. When he met Juliet, Romeo called her hand a pilgrim's shrine and Juliet a saint. (I.5.95-6, 105.) To Pierre, Lucy's "carpet seemed as holy ground. Every chair . . . sanctified by some departed saint," and two sentences later Melville's subconscious mind tossed up "shrine." (P. 51.)

Before his intrusion at the Capulet party, Romeo feared "some consequence, yet hanging in the stars" would "begin his fearful date/With this night's revels and expire the term/Of a

despised life closed in [his] breast,/By some vile forfeit of untimely death." (I.4.107ff.) Before Pierre met Isabel at the sewing party, "an unbidden, most miserable presentiment . . . stole into him." (P. 51.) The premonition of his death came to Pierre later under different circumstances.

Both heroes received insulting letters, were called villains, and had hysterical fits. Romeo's insulting letter came from Juliet's cousin Tybalt, who later called him a villain; Pierre was called villain in the letter, which came from his cousin Glen and from Lucy's brother, a typical sort of subconscious shifting and re-sorting. After killing Tybalt had ruined any chance Romeo might have had to live peacefully with Juliet in Verona, he became, according to Friar Laurence, a "fond mad man," groveling on the floor of the friar's cell, tearing his hair and groaning "with his own tears made drunk." (III.3.52,83.) At a similar crisis when Isabel had ruined Pierre's future with Lucy, "the cheeks of his soul collapsed in him: he dashed himself in blind fury and swift madness against the wall, and fell dabbling in the vomit of his loathed identity." (P. 232.) "Loathed identity" may be a bitter echo of Juliet's famous "wherefore art thou Romeo?/ Deny thy father and refuse thy name." (II.2.33-4.) Pierre too would not have been in such a dilemma if he had "denied" his father.

Both heroes misinterpreted important dreams just before the fatal *dénouements*. At the time a piece of paper might have saved either of them. Friar Laurence's letter would have kept Romeo from suicide. "Chronometricals and Horologicals," which Pierre had lost in his coat-lining, could have given him the means he needed to straighten out his tangled life. In both the clue to the truth was very close; yet neither got it.

In the section of the novel which roughly approximates the scenes in the play where Romeo is off-stage, Pierre's situation resembles Juliet's instead of Romeo's. Capulet had arranged a marriage for her as Mrs. Glendinning had for Pierre. To any disinterested observer both were fine matches. Because of Pierre's and Juliet's extreme youth, both ceremonies were postponed. When the two young people became strangely upset by events of which their parents were largely ignorant, Capulet and Mrs. Glendinning took steps to hasten the weddings, hop-

ing thereby to cure their children's almost hysterical distress. The bewildered Capulet threatened to disown Juliet if she did not marry as he wished. Mrs. Glendinning carried out the same threat after Pierre eloped with Isabel.

In other places Juliet is similar to Lucy and to Mrs. Glendinning. Both heroines had premonition of evil to come to them and their lovers. Before Romeo fled Verona, Juliet's "ill-divining soul" saw him "as one dead in the bottom of a tomb." (III.5.56.) Before Pierre deserted Lucy, she felt "some nameless sadness, faintness . . . foretaste to endless dreariness." (P. 48.)

Later, stunned by the news that Romeo had killed Tybalt, Juliet turned on her absent husband: "O, serpent heart, hid with a flowering face!" "fiend angelical!" "O, that deceit should dwell/In such a gorgeous palace." But when the nurse joined her in condemning Romeo, Juliet turned on her, "Blister'd be thy tongue . . ." (III. 2. 73-90 *passim*.) Instead of Lucy, it was Mrs. Glendinning who turned against Pierre after his elopement, echoing Juliet: "Deceitful! thick with guilt, where I thought it was all guilelessness and gentlest docility to me." (P. 262.) When Lucy's maid, like Juliet's nurse, started to revile Pierre, Mrs. Glendinning withered her with "Thy own tongue blister the roof of thy mouth!" (P. 272.) By another linking, when Melville wrote of Mrs. Glendinning's death he associated her with Lady Montague: both mothers died of grief over their sons.

Two scenes in *Pierre* show Melville's absorption of the staging of *Romeo and Juliet*. Although the first appearance of his happily affianced young lovers took place by day with no accompaniment of secrecy or peril, it has much of the flavor of Shakespeare's famous balcony scene. Lifting his eyes to an upper casement window, Pierre called to Lucy:

As heart rings to heart those voices rang, and for a moment, in the bright hush of the morning, the two stood silently but ardently eyeing each other, beholding mutual reflections of a boundless admiration and love. (P. 2.)

Where Romeo in the dark of the Capulet orchard said, "O, speak again, bright angel!" (II.2.26.), in the morning sunshine Pierre thought "truly the skies do ope, and this invoking angel looks down." (P. 2.) To match Juliet's exuberant "a thousand

times goodnight," Lucy answered Pierre's request for a "good morning": "That would be little. Good-mornings, good-evenings, good days, weeks, months, and years to thee, Pierre — bright Pierre! — Pierre!" And Juliet's rose, sweet by any name, became the "rich, crimson flower" Pierre carried away with him.

The death scenes of the two are also much alike. In each the excluded member of the triangle died first, the victim of someone else's errors — Paris by Romeo's sword, Lucy from shock at the knowledge of Pierre's incest with Isabel. Next the two heroes, Romeo and Pierre, from drinking "vials" of poison. Last the two women. Juliet, after discovering that Romeo had "drunk all, and left no friendly drop/To help [her] after" (V.3.163-4), stabbed herself and fell upon Romeo. Since Pierre had left a "friendly drop," Isabel finished the poison and fell dying on Pierre. Both ended with a heap of three dead on the floor, the two of each group who had achieved union suicides.

THE material in *Pierre* on which the case for *Hamlet* is built is much slighter than all this material from *Romeo and Juliet*. It should be remembered, first of all, that Melville himself did not look upon *Hamlet* as a study of the "Oedipus-complex." When his hero with adolescent melodrama turned to *Hamlet*, Melville wrote:

If . . . the pregnant tragedy of *Hamlet* convey any one particular moral at all fitted to the ordinary uses of man, it is this: — that all meditation is worthless, unless it prompt to action; that it is not for man to stand shilly-shallying amid the conflicting invasions of surrounding impulses; that in the earliest instant of conviction, the roused man must strike, and, if possible, with the precision and force of the lightning-bolt. (P. 229.)

Hamlet served unfortunately to spur Pierre into very hasty action. There is none of Hamlet's procrastination. Despite the pages devoted to his desperate attempts at thought, the lapse of time was much too brief for mature consideration of his dilemma. Unlike Hamlet, Pierre was at this time unable to perceive even vaguely the possible complexities of the situation and the wide-reaching results of his actions:

. . . Hamlet had insinuated that there was none to strike . . . Ham-

let taunted him with faltering in the fight. Now he began to curse anew his fate, for now he began to see that after all he had been finely juggling with himself, and postponing with himself, and in meditative sentimentalities wasting the moments consecrated to instant action.

Eighty-and-forty hours and more had passed. (P. 230-31.)

Melville did not identify Pierre with Hamlet. Just before Pierre likened himself to Hamlet, Melville warned the reader: "But the thoughts we here indite as Pierre's are to be very carefully discriminated from those we indite concerning him." (If we take Pierre at his own evaluation, he is, at different times, Dante, a Spenserian knight, and a Byronic hero.) In addition to warning the reader against accepting Pierre's evaluation of himself, Melville specifically described his un-Hamlet-like character:

But without being entirely aware of it himself, Pierre was one of those spirits, which not in a determinate and sordid scrutiny of the small pros and cons — but in an impulsive subservience to the god-like dictation of events themselves, find at length the surest solution of perplexities, and the brightest prerogative of command. And as for him *What* must I do? was a question already answered by the inspiration of the difficulty itself . . . (P. 118.)

Later he called Pierre "thou rash boy!" hardly a term one would apply to a Hamlet.

It is equally hard to make logical comparisons of the other characters with those in *Hamlet*. The "sentimental" heroine Lucy, who defied her mother and brother to join the disgraced Pierre, is more like the valiant Juliet, who dared to take the sleeping potion so that she might be reunited with Romeo, than like the weak, obedient Ophelia. Pierre's proud, strong-minded mother, who had remained true to her husband's memory throughout the intervening years, is more like the forceful Capulet in character than like the vacillating Gertrude. And *Pierre* is not a novel of usurpation and revenge. If there is any villain in the book, it is the once-adored father. So far as character and action are concerned, *Hamlet's* influence was a negative one on Melville's hero rather than a positive one on Melville.

Great writers of all ages have, of course, used the psychological traits and aberrations which Freud and his fellows later

explained. No one can, therefore, deny that *Hamlet* and *Pierre* both deal with a mother complex. But even assuming the presence of an "Oedipus-complex" similar to that in *Hamlet*, one should not allow it to overshadow the more important material in *Pierre*. The early dialogue pointing directly to Romeo, the problems of growing awareness of complexity and ambiguity, the places of fate and youthful impetuosity should be given major consideration. All of these clear clues and similarities added to the perhaps even more important mental driftwood from *Romeo and Juliet* make too large a total to be given as little attention as they usually receive in interpretations of *Pierre*.

A study of influence as such is not considered so valuable today as it once was. After all, it is not *where* the writer got his material that is paramount, but *what* he did with it after he got it. And yet sometimes a consideration of sources can tell much more than just what a writer has read and to whom he is indebted for his characters. A great reader absorbs a total piece, not just bits and pieces. And he absorbs them on his own terms.

The material either directly or indirectly borrowed from *Romeo and Juliet* clearly indicates that Melville had *Romeo and Juliet* in mind more than he had *Hamlet* when he wrote *Pierre*. Romeo was a thoughtless youth, unaware yet of the complexity of the world, or to use Melville's word, the ambiguities. He learned that good intentions cannot keep one from being pushed into fatal situations, and that appearance cannot be trusted in even such obvious matters as Juliet's seeming death. Juliet's speeches echoed in *Pierre* all dealt with the juxtaposition of unlikes: "serpent heart, hid with a flowering face," "fiend angelical," "deceit" dwelling in "a gorgeous palace." The action shows impetuous youth, rushing into tragedy. The philosophy comes back to Melville's title.

Masterpieces of Print-Making

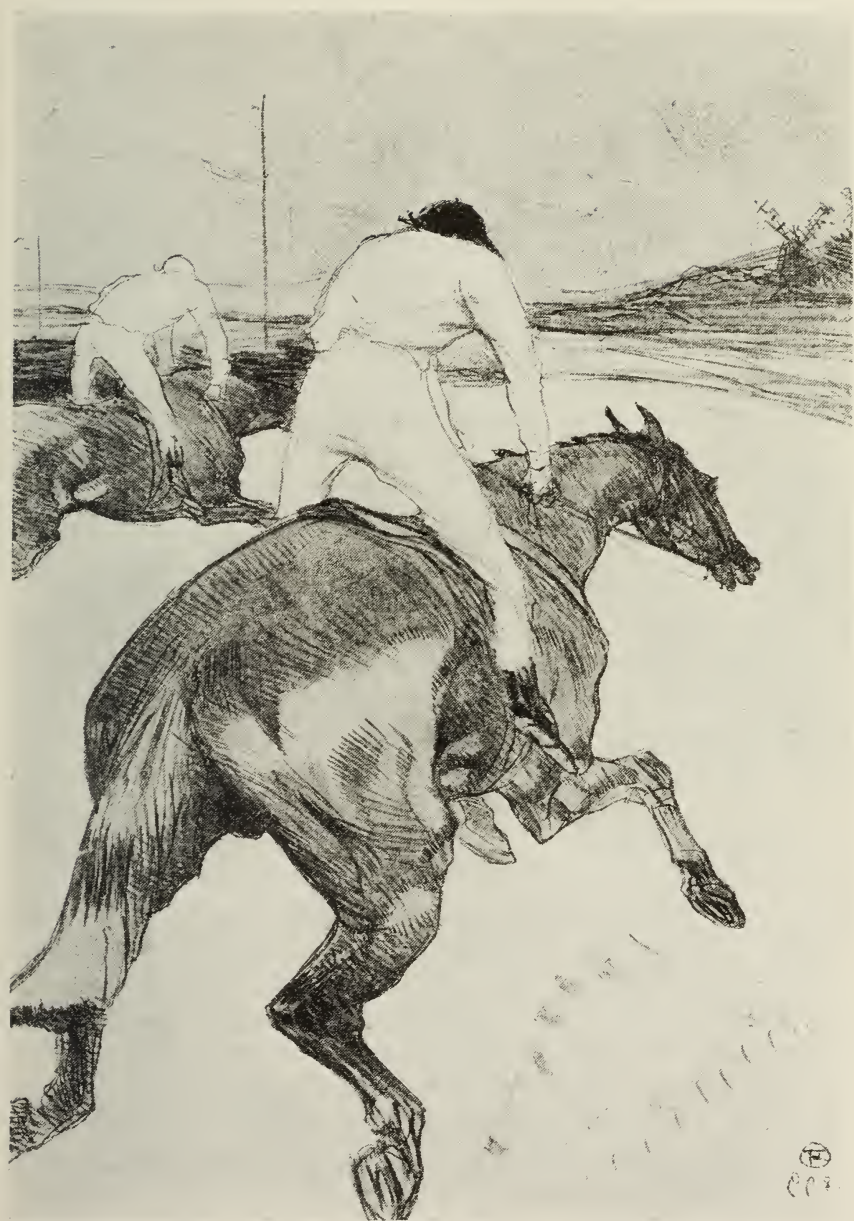
By ARTHUR W. HEINTZELMAN

THE Print Department held a comprehensive exhibition of "Masterpieces" from the Albert H. Wiggin and other collections of the Boston Public Library as its contribution to the inauguration of the Centennial Celebration during the month of November.

In the short period of twelve years since the original collection of "Prints, Drawings, and Books" was given by Mr. Albert H. Wiggin, and the establishing of the new Print Department in 1941, the collection has grown tremendously in number, quality, and international consequence. The Department has sponsored and lent approximately two hundred and fifty exhibitions to leading American museums, libraries, and educational institutions, which have not only raised the standard of graphic arts in the United States, but have done much to uphold cultural standards abroad. Our French, English, and American representations, supported by sizable collections of Italian and German works, are outstanding.

Each year visitors, collectors, and connoisseurs from all parts of the world have been welcomed. They have been interested in the completeness of the work by acknowledged contemporary masters in the Library's collections, and in the work of other artists who are highly esteemed yet unheralded print-makers of the younger generation.

The Library's collections take on added significance, for the era of the great collector may be a thing of the past. How fortunate Boston has been along with other large cities which have inherited valuable print collections! The print collections in the Boston Public Library are considered unique in that Mr. Wiggin was one of the very few collectors who concentrated on contemporary graphic arts; and this is important to artists and public institutions, for the layman today is more conscious of prints and drawings than in any period since the turn of the century. There is a constant search for educational aid to gain knowledge about all phases of print-making, and about the artists who created them as well.



"The Jockey," a Lithograph by Toulouse-Lautrec

Mr. Wiggin set a pattern from the first few prints he collected nearly half a century ago. His ideas have been followed in the print field because of his choice of artists and the diversity of subject. He had the student and collector in mind in the thoroughness with which he sought states illustrating the development of the plate, and pertinent drawings, paintings, and books to round out the history of the print and its maker. Mr. Wiggin also believed that this should be a live collection, and this idea has been of great artistic and educational importance, borne out by the constant demands for loans from coast to coast. This program comes as a welcome change from the usual practice of most institutions; for, instead of a few enjoying these great works of art, the public at large, in and outside Boston, can study prints of all schools of thought in all the graphic arts mediums.

It is interesting to note that the original gift of Mr. Wiggin contained numerous varying but characteristic groups of prints by the early masters, which seem to act as an introduction, or foundation, to the study of the work of contemporaries. Particularly important among a representative group of prints by Rembrandt is the masterpiece of all time in etching, "The Hundred Guilder Plate," perhaps better known as "Christ Healing the Sick." There is a superb and very rare set of Albrecht Dürer's woodcuts, "The Life of the Virgin," and a number of fine impressions from the "Great Passion."

In this exhibition of "Masterpieces" it was interesting to compare the work of the best British, French, and American artists of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In most cases the Library's collections possess complete assemblages of the British artists represented in this exhibition. To name a few, there were chosen "A Spanish Good Friday, Ronda" and "The Red Stone Farm, Elstead" by Muirhead Bone; "Sunset in Ireland" and the "Towing Path" by Seymour Haden; "St. Botolph's Boston" and "The Almonry" by Frederick L. Griggs; "Venetian Night" by James McBey; "The Baths of Caracalla" by D. Y. Cameron; "Carrara Mountain, Noon" and "Carrara Mountain, Evening" by John Copley; "Tête Farouche" by Augustus John; "Ile de la Cité, Paris" by Henry Rushbury; and "Southwark Fair" by William Hogarth.

No less complete was the work of the artists representing the French section of the collection. Prominent in the selection were: "The Jockey" by Toulouse-Lautrec; "Le Bouquet de Roses" by Fantin-Latour; "Matinée d'Hiver sur les Quais" and "Westminster Palace" by Félix Buhot; "Le Petit Pont, Paris" and "La Galerie, Nôtre Dame" by Charles Meryon; "The Shepherdess Knitting" and "The Gleaners" by Jean-François Millet; "Un Coup de Vent" by Alphonse Legros; "Yvonne de Profile" by Jacques Villon; "Cirque Ambulant" by Auguste Brouet; "Environs de Rome" by Camille Jean-Baptiste Corot. The names of Renoir, Bonnard, Gauguin, Degas, Manet, Derain, Vlaminck, Cézanne, Rouault, and Daubigny must also be mentioned as masters of the copper-plate and lithographer's stone.

Last but not least, in the French section was a superb group of prints by the famous nineteenth-century lithographers. To possess a representative collection of Daumier, Gavarni, and Charlet is the ambition of every collector of lithographs of this particular period. The obtaining of an almost complete collection, with rare proofs before letters, is a dream one might suppose impossible to achieve. With the many fine examples by these artists already in the collection, this representation acquired a few years ago may well be classified as unique in its completeness. Daumier was represented by "Rue Transnonain," which did not in any sense overshadow other subjects such as the very rare "L'Ivrogne," the unique "Le Rhin," and the scarce "Enfoncé Lafayette," or "Le Ventre Législatif," to name a few. Also chosen were an interesting print from the "Etudes d'Androgynes Servies" entitled "Ex-déesse de la Liberté" by Gavarni and a typical Nicholas Charlet entitled "Les Pénibles Adieux."

The American section held its own as a distinct contribution to the graphic arts with marked individuality and inventiveness. James McNeill Whistler, who with his brother-in-law, Seymour Haden, was instrumental in bringing etching into the creative realm of fine arts again after many years of commercial use of the medium, was represented by two great dry-points, "Annie Haden," on which he declared he would rest his reputation as an etcher, and a first state of "The Velvet Dress."

"A Stag at Sharkey's" was George W. Bellows's contribution, considered one of the outstanding American lithographs of our time. Prominent beside the work of these two masters were "Marsh Gunner" by Frank W. Benson; "Campers Entering a Forest" by Eugene Higgins; "Running In" by Charles H. Woodbury; "In the Omnibus" by Mary Cassatt; "Early Light" by Stow Wengenroth; "Dijon Cathedral" by Robert Logan; "From the Ponte Vecchio" by John Taylor Arms; and "Le Valaisan" by Arthur W. Heintzelman. American wood engravers, too, were prominently represented: by "Gambrel-Roofed Barn" by Thomas Nason and "Peaceful Valley" by Asa Cheffetz.

The month of January will feature another outstanding collection of "Masterpieces" from a selected group of drawings, many of which will be pertinent to the prints that were shown in this exhibition.

Thus the world of graphic arts, particularly the contemporary work in all its various and wide aspects, certainly must appeal to the artist, connoisseur, collector, and layman. Each will find a source of inspiration and deep satisfaction in the Boston Public Library collections from which these masterpieces were chosen. It is a privilege to have such a rich source of unique artistic and educational material so near at hand.

Notes on Rare Books and Manuscripts

Le Roman de la Rose, 1526

L*E Roman de la Rose*, the medieval French allegory of Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, was read for more than two centuries in manuscripts, of which some three hundred copies still exist. The work was first printed, without date and place of printing, probably in 1480 at Lyon. Before the end of the century six other editions appeared, all in folio form and, like the manuscripts, profusely illustrated. About a dozen more editions followed at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Then the poem came to the hand of Clément Marot, the young warrior and courtier of Marguerite d'Angoulême, who revised the ancient language and recast the verse, which had already undergone much variation from the copying of scribes. His revision of the work was published in Paris by Galliot du Pré in 1526, in a folio of 144 leaves, printed in double columns in bâtarde type, and illustrated with 92 woodcuts. The Library has recently acquired a beautiful copy, bound in green morocco by Capé.

Guillaume de Lorris began writing his poem about 1230. His theme was that of the troubadours, the art of courtly love. He seemed to have died just before reaching the end; at least, he left the work without a conclusion. Forty years later, Jean Chopinel de Meun, a scholar who had translated Boethius for Philippe "le Bel," continued the *Roman* far beyond the length its originator intended, and in a mood far different. In the course of eighteen thousand additional lines, Meun digressed from the narrative to acquaint those of his readers who knew no Latin with various ancient writings. He told, for example, the stories of Dido and Aeneas, Jason and Medea, Venus and Adonis; and he presented a dialogue, concerning free will and destiny, between Nature and Genius. The original story was all but forgotten during these learned discussions of science, history, and philosophy. The romantic quality of Provençal poetry, natural to Guillaume's poem, was displaced by Jean's rationality, and by his satire on women, friars, knights, lawyers, and doctors, which earned for him the epithet "the Voltaire of the thirteenth century." Despite this, he was at times a greater poet than his predecessor.

The story of the poem is familiar. In a dream, a young squire

walks on the banks of a river one May morning until he comes to a high-walled garden. Painted on the wall are figures representing hate, envy, sadness, poverty, and others, all excluded from the garden where young people carol and dance on the lawns and the God of Love reigns. The gate-keeper, Idleness, admits him to the company, and he discovers, from its reflection in a fountain, a rose garden, and the rose which he instantly desires. But before he can win the rose, a symbol of the heroine's love, he has to encounter Shame, Fear, Jealousy, and Danger, as well as Frankness, Pity, and Fair Welcome. All these characters "qualify" the mind of the lady, who never appears in person. When the Dreamer fails in his quest, he is remonstrated by Reason and advised by Friend, who personify his state of mind. And he might have failed endlessly, had not the God of Love with all his barons and Venus, arriving from Cyprus in a cart drawn by doves, waged battle for his cause against the inimical forces of the lady. Only then does Fair Welcome give him the rose.

Le Roman de la Rose, recognized at once as a great allegorical poem, enjoyed enormous popularity which, as the unusually large number of manuscript and printed copies show, lasted well into the sixteenth century. Marot's revision was reprinted three times, the last in 1537-8.

It was while Marot, accused of heresy, was a prisoner at Chartres that he made his revision of the work, undertaking "to restore [it] to a better state and more expedient form." Accordingly, he carefully marked the speeches of the various characters, and perfected, or made more regular, the meter. Although his corrected text was farther from the original poetry than even the poorest manuscript, it had the advantage of being more readable.

The recension often widely departs from the original. The couplet describing merry-makers in the garden, for instance, read in the original

Ceste gent don je vos parole
S'estoient pris a la querole

Marot changed it to

Ces gens dâcerent aux chansons
Qui neurêt laitz ne meschâs sons

His intention was to reshape a wonderful, but antiquated poem for his own generation.

The illustrations have a charming simplicity. One cut depicts the God of Love, crowned and bearing his arrows, detaining the Lover. In another Danger gives the Hero a violent cudgelling with

his club, while Fair Welcome stands timidly by. Then Reason points out the blindfolded figure of Fortune, presiding over her wheel, to the Lover. Three times appears also the woodcut of two maidens, Pity and Frankness, as they speak appeasingly to Danger. There is a beautiful cut of the Dreamer, contemplating his rose. This is reproduced twice, as he comes near his goal, and again, at the very end, when he has won it.

With the exception of five, the woodcuts were borrowed from Vêrard's Folio and Quarto. They were copied from an original series made for the second Lyon edition by Jean Syber. Of the other cuts, two are from *Le Prouffits Champestres et Ruraulx* by Pierre de Crescences, published in 1486 by Vêrard; two from Vêrard's *Cent Nouvelles*, 1486; and one from *Mer des Histoires*, of du Pré's edition of 1514-16. They are notably different in style from the woodcuts made especially for the *Roman de la Rose*.

The influence of the poem was felt everywhere in Europe, and is felt still, although it is no longer read. Toward the end of the thirteenth century, the Tuscan poet Durante composed a sequence of 232 sonnets, entitled *Il Fiore*, which was a free adaptation of the older French work. Two Dutch translations were made. In 1438 Jean Molinet rewrote the poem in prose, dividing it into more than a hundred chapters and inserting a "moralité" at the end of each section.

The most interesting translation, however, and the most controversial one, is Chaucer's, preserved in the "Glasgow Manuscript," published first by Thynne in his edition of Chaucer, 1532. This is the only known Middle English version of the poem. Lacking several leaves at the beginning, it is also without date or author's signature. If it is Chaucer's, and scholars usually assign the first and sometimes the third fragment to him, it must have been written before 1386 when, in the Prologue to *The Legend of Good Women*, he numbered a translation of Lorriss's poem among his works. Written in rhymed couplets of iambic tetrameter, *The Romaunt of the Rose* actually includes no more than a third of the French poem. But more significant than the fact of the translation, is the effect which the poem had on Chaucer's ensuing work. The allegory, Professor F. N. Robinson believes, "probably exerted on Chaucer a more lasting and more important influence than any other work in the vernacular literature of either France or England." From Lorriss's portrayal of his heroine, Chaucer began to comprehend the character of Criseyde.

A new edition of the original appeared in 1814, prepared by

Méon from "the best and oldest manuscripts." The editor reprinted the unsigned prologue to the 1526 edition, which he identified as Marot's. There were subsequent editions in 1864 and 1878-80. Finally, an excellent critical edition was published by Ernest Langlois in 1914. The first volume contains essays on the authors of the poem, along with an analysis of the rhymes and of Old French phonology and grammar.

CORNELIA W. DORGAN

"The Imperium of America"

THOMAS POWNALL appointed governor of Massachusetts in February 1757, landed at Boston on August 3, the same day that Fort William Henry fell into the hands of the French. The new governor, brother of John Pownall, secretary to the Board of Trade, had first come to the colonies with the unlucky Danvers Osborne in 1753, had stayed to attend the Albany Conference, and became intimate with both Franklin and Sir William Johnson. A Cambridge graduate with cultivated tastes, he was an excellent water colorist, a good mathematician, and a practical surveyor. Politically he shared Pitt's colonial ambitions and saw no way of ending the Seven Years War except by driving the French from the continent. The Library has long had a set of his rare American views, and has now added to its collections a four-page letter written by him on the September 7 after his arrival. The manuscript, addressed to his English patron, the Earl of Halifax, shows how quickly the new governor had grasped the military situation and how clearly he saw its ultimate solution.

He begins by reminding Halifax, the Commissioner of Trade and Plantations, of a previous communication, written directly after the fall of Oswego, in which he had insisted that French control of the inland waterways "does absolutely give them the Command of the Continent" and that the English "without two Fleets & Two Armies . . . could do nothing in America." This is the document that was later expanded at the request of the Duke of Cumberland and presented to him as a *Memorial . . . Stating the Nature of the Service in North America*. The intervening year, 1756-1757, with its second defeat had not improved the situation any and Pownall now declares:

"Unless we keep an Army at the Gates of Canada whenever we Attempt to Strike the French in any other Part they by the Com-

mand they have of the Country & Consequently the Indians will strike a deadly blow wherever they please, as they have done at Fort William Henry, and if we doe keep an Army at the Gates of Canada They knowing from the Impracticability of the Country to Us, as they now possess it & the Indians, that We cannot do them any Material harm, will leave us to Struggle with these difficulties & go out against us wherever they Please, as I own I do now fear."

If Lord Loudon were to advance from Albany, he felt this would only open the way for a French attack on the unprotected settlements of Nova Scotia, and if this were diverted "they might go where they please." He recurs also to the need for a second military and naval force if Quebec is to be surrounded, writing:

"If we had two Fleets while one Secured the Sea Lines, The other might at least together with one of our Armies at its Gates keep the French at Home in Canada & find them Work there while we carried on our Operations against their Encroachments abroad. But how it is possible we should do this I do not see. We are by no means so Superior in the Navy to the French as to be Able to do this, and how we should do it in the Land Service I see no one possible way. We cannot do it by Regular Troops from Europe. I see plainly from the Dissatisfaction & Disgust the Regulars have in the Provincials Service & from the total Alienation there is in the Provincials to the Command of the Regulars that will never be, & to hope to Support ourselves in any of our outposts at a Distance from the Settled Parts of the Provinces by the Militia is not more Absurd than it is impracticable & impossible Especially in the Utterly ruined and lost State of our Militia. It was there on this State of the Case as a Foundation that I did and do still say that unless we can *take Quebec* The French must command this Country — to what degree they will command it depends upon the degree of Vigor we shall exert in our defence but still they must command it untill we recover the Command of the Waters that Carry with them the *Imperium of America* so great a loss was & will be found Oswego to be."

In spite of Pownall's liberal views, he was not entirely popular in Massachusetts. The supporters of Ex-Governor Shirley felt he owed his position to his influence with Halifax, his manners were considered too free, and his dress pretentious. Samuel Adams dismissed him as a "fribble" or fop, and the anonymous author of *A Review of the Military Operations in North America* held him responsible for most of the Imperial bungling. The writer of this attack, believed to be Governor Livingston of New York, admits that Pownall is "something of a scholar, but a confused reasoner" and

charges him with "galloping into preferment." The Massachusetts governor seems to fear the effect of this libel, for he concludes his letter to Halifax:

"I hope your Lordship will receive no ill Impression of me from the Villanously false Paper that has been published against me in England. It was wrote by an Attorney of New York & when I can spare time from the Duties of his Majesty's Service I will disabuse the World."

E. L. A.

Correction

The article "A New Letter and Poem by 'Thomas Ingoldsby'" which appeared in the October 1953 issue of this *Quarterly* was written by Mr. William G. Lane, Instructor in English at Duke University. His name was omitted by mistake.

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Contributors to this Issue

DAVID T. POTTINGER, for many years Associate Director of the Harvard University Press, is engaged upon an investigation of the economic and business aspects of the French book trade during the ancien régime (1500-1791). Closely related to his article is his discussion of "The Protection of Literary Property in France during the Ancien Régime" (April 1951 issue of *The Romanic Review*) and "Standards of Quality in French Printing, 1500-1790" (*Gutenberg Jahrbuch* for 1952).

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EDITOR: ZOLTÁN HARASZTI

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APRIL 1954

Margaret Fuller's Attempt to Write Fiction

By ALEXANDER E. JONES

CORRESPONDING with a friend in March, 1834, Margaret Fuller summarized her activities during her "exile" in Groton. "Occasionally," she confided, "I try my hand at composition, but have not yet completed anything to my own satisfaction. I have sketched a number of plans, but if ever accomplished, it must be in a season of more joyful energy, when my mind has been renovated, and refreshed by change of scene or circumstance."¹

Modern scholars have taken Miss Fuller at her word and thought of the Groton period as a sort of literary apprenticeship during which she produced nothing of real importance.² Certainly her known published works of 1834 and 1835 are of minor interest — a "Defense of Brutus" in the *Boston Daily Advertiser* and three literary essays in the *Western Messenger*. Yet evidence exists that Miss Fuller was also engaged at this time in an experiment of greater significance: during 1835 she made her one attempt to write fiction. Furthermore, the resulting tale seems to have set off a chain reaction — its publication angered several friends who thought themselves ridiculed; their indignation occasioned agonies of guilty embarrassment in the author; and this personal distress apparently destroyed her ambition to become a story-teller.

Today Miss Fuller's story, to which she gave the title "Lost

and Won," is missing.³ Nevertheless, it is possible to obtain a fairly accurate idea of its contents, for a discussion of the tale occurs in a letter to Miss Fuller from James Freeman Clarke. Back in New England on a brief vacation from his clerical duties in Louisville, Kentucky, Clarke paid his written respects to "Dear Margaret" on September 15, 1835:

I am laid up [in Newton] high & dry, like an old ship in dry dock, to refit. I am suffering under a complication of maladies — a fever flanked by a lame foot. But I can risk writing a letter if I cannot come to see you which would be better. I was much grieved by finding you gone when I came from Greenfield . . . I have, since my return read your story "Lost & Won." I think the characters of Emily & Davenant *admirably* sketched. They are somewhat heightened above the reality — & they ought to be. It is tremendous on poor Joseph. If he is regenerate it will be severe but wholesome medicine — if not it will make him terribly angry. I think you have explained Harriet's character & conduct so as to make her an object of respect & affection on account of it, to all capable of understanding such things. Some persons say you meant Ed. Drayton for me — his German translations, literary taste, &c seem so — but then I did not "try to catch her heart at the rebound." I think that the whole is meant for nobody. As for Gower, opinions are divided — some say it is Geo. some say it is me — some say it is a fancy sketch compounded of both. I think the story was identified by the incidents rather than the characters — except perhaps Davenant's which no one who knew him could pass over & not recognize. But many little particulars, the old mansion & aunt in the country — the small fortune from the grandmother — and other incidents, formed a chain of strong circumstantial evidence. Did I tell you that those reflections with regard to Harriet took place on board a "steamboat" — returning from Montreal on Lake Champlain? The *style* of the story is considered obscure by the common readers of it — I thought you would like to know this criticism of the public. When did I see something like that first speech of Gower — "Today for the first time, I felt so free, so bright, so sufficient to myself —"? I have been trying to think ever since I read it. I never enjoyed any thing more — but particularly was I pleased with that turning point — "Aye, truly alone" — that whole passage is very beautiful indeed. Helen Davis first told me about it & showed me the paper. Since then I procured several copies, & showed them to many individuals — for instance Mrs. Wendell Davis — Miss Sturgis — I also wrote to Geo & Harriet telling them of it — What they will think I cannot tell — But shall soon know . . .⁴

Even if our knowledge of "Lost and Won" went no further

than this, the tale would still be significant as one of Miss Fuller's earliest writings, and as her only attempt at fiction. Ambitious, eager for recognition, she was trying to hit upon that genre which would offer the widest scope to her literary talents. Accordingly, she had constructed her story carefully to achieve a dramatic turning point, and had larded her Transcendental rhetoric with passages of the deepest purple. "Lost and Won" was, then, a sort of trial balloon. Unfortunately, when she released this balloon, it ran straightway into the heavy weather of a teapot tempest.

Clarke's seemingly ingenuous speculation as to what George and Harriet would think of the tale is rather difficult to account for. Indeed, he could scarcely have been unaware that Miss Fuller was dealing with potentially explosive subject matter, for he himself had apparently furnished her with part of it. The George and Harriet in question were George Thomas Davis and his bride of less than a year, Harriet Tidd Russell Davis. Clarke had always admired Davis, his classmate at Harvard,⁵ and had always been intrigued by Harriet Russell. A few weeks before their engagement was announced in September, 1832, Clarke had expressed his approval of the match in a letter to Miss Fuller: "I suppose Geo. is in Boston now, I therefore shall not go to Greenfield in pursuit of him. Give him my best respects & tell him I think H. R. the loveliest of her sex, gentle & refined to a degree."⁶ Nevertheless, Clarke had misgivings, and ten months later he expressed them:

You said when I was at Groton (as if you thought it possible) that you hoped George would not wreck her [Harriet's] happiness. Believe me Margaret, the only danger is of her wrecking *his*. I have seen & learnt to know her more intimately, more *personally*, (not better) & I am sure that I never before met with such a dazzling, dangerous meteor. And I am fearful that if George should be disappointed [*sic*] in his earnest & faithful effort to give an equilibrium to her being, to teach her to prize duty, to cultivate her mind & feelings, that he would never be able to collect strength for another exertion of any kind. I have a strange & curious story to tell you about Harriot [*sic*], but I have not seen the end of it yet. I never saw anything which equally displayed the action of Pride Intellect, Imagination⁷

In a few more months, Clarke wrote that he had at last

"seen the end" of the story, reporting to Miss Fuller that he had "had three conversations with Harriot Russel [*sic*] — the last two particularly satisfying, explaining every thing which was inexplicable before. I left that affair in a *finished* state."⁸ Yet his curiosity remained unsatisfied, for he was still extracting information from Harriet a few weeks before her marriage.⁹ Finally, however, he felt he knew the whole story and began to discuss it with Miss Fuller, who meanwhile had not been totally ignorant of events:

I suppose Geo. & Harriet are by this time married. Wishing them all bliss, I shall look with some curiosity to find how they get on together. I agree with you that Joe. is yet in the gall of bitterness. It would have pleased you to have seen the interview between him & Harriet at Nahant one fine morning — Sarah can tell you about it if you ask her — she goes to visit the "cappy hupple" at Greenfield this Winter. When I next visit Mass. which may be in a year or two — I shall certainly pass through Greenfield. . . .¹⁰

Such, then, was the background of "Lost and Won." Miss Fuller's tale presented — disguised as fiction — the courtship of George and Harriet Davis — a courtship rendered tempestuous by Harriet's headstrong, emotional nature¹¹ and further complicated by the presence of Joseph Angier, who had a considerable reputation as a ladies' man,¹² and who tried to steal Harriet's affections but was eventually rebuffed. The participants in such a comedy of manners are always understandably reluctant to have their antics celebrated in print. Therefore, although Miss Fuller had changed "Harriet" to "Emily," "George" to "Gower," and "Angier" to "Davenant," and although she had "explained Harriet's character & conduct so as to make her an object of respect and affection," saving her ridicule for "poor Joseph," still it was only natural that the Davises should have resented this invasion of their privacy. That Clarke had indeed stirred up a hornet's nest is obvious from the fact that he sought to let his sister Sarah make his excuses for him, replying to a letter from Miss Fuller that must have been hysterical in tone:

My dear Margaret — This morning James received your letter & was very glad to find you well enough to dictate — It was not as you suppose through his means that the meaning of the tale was made

public as the only person he told of it besides George was Ellen Sturgis — Mrs. Fay discovered it herself from knowing the circumstances & told Helen of it & she told us. James was writing to George this morning and told him how far it was from being public and what you said about it in your letter & how much honour it did to Harriet & how none need be ashamed or distressed about it but Mr. Davenant — It was a letter well calculated to compose his mind supposing it was troubled — And now dont [*sic*] worry yourself about it dear Margaret for it is a good thing to have done such poetical justice to a character so genuine and primitive as Harriet's & one so likely to be misinterpreted — James begs me to say that he was exaggerating when he proposed to tell all the world about it & that among us all, Helen included, we have not told more than three people.¹³

Having allowed Sarah to make his apologies for him, Clarke then finished the letter himself. Carefully avoiding any mention of "Lost and Won", he did reassure Miss Fuller that "I sympathize with you in your illness my dear Margaret — I understand your feelings well," and he did close the letter with a significant "believe me your true friend, James."¹⁴

Although Sarah Clarke attempted to joke about it, this illness of Miss Fuller's was serious, a fact attested by the patient's description of the ordeal in retrospect:

For nine long days and nights, without intermission, all was agony, — fever and dreadful pain in the head. Mother tended me like an angel all that time, scarcely ever leaving me, night or day. My father, too, habitually so sparing in tokens of affection, was led by his anxiety to express what he felt towards me in stronger terms than he had ever used in the whole course of my life. He thought I might not recover, and one morning, coming into my room, after a few moments' conversation, he said: "My dear, I have been thinking of you in the night, and I cannot remember that you have any *faults*. You have defects, of course, as all mortals have, but I do not know that you have a single fault."¹⁵

This utterance by her father, designed to lessen the sense of guilt which she was experiencing, moved Margaret Fuller to tears, and shortly thereafter she began to recover. For her mysterious sickness was largely psychosomatic in nature — she had always displayed a marked tendency to respond to severe emotional crises by becoming violently ill.¹⁶ The onset of this attack occurred just when the displeasure of the Davises

must have been made known to her — a day or so after Clarke had written his fateful letters.

Eventually, of course, Miss Fuller made her peace with George and Harriet. After her brother Richard had graduated from Harvard, she obtained a place for him in George Davis's law office at Greenfield. Yet the conflict had left its scars:¹⁷ although she was obviously interested in narrative materials, she never again wrote fiction.¹⁸ Her first attempt had brought her unhappiness; and she never sought to repeat the experiment.

Notes

1. *Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli*, ed. Ralph Waldo Emerson, James Freeman Clarke, and William Henry Channing (Boston, 1852), I, 150-151 — hereafter cited as *Memoirs*.

2. See, for example, Mason Wade, *Margaret Fuller: Whetstone of Genius* (New York, 1940), p. 21.

3. An extensive search for "Lost and Won," undertaken with the co-operation of the Boston Public Library and the Library of the Boston Athenaeum, has proved unsuccessful. It is, however, at least possible to say that the story was apparently not published in the *Boston Daily Advertiser* between January 1 and September 15, 1835, nor in any other Boston newspaper between May 15 and September 15.

4. From the unpublished volume, "The Letters of James Freeman Clarke to Margaret Fuller," ed. J. Wesley Thomas (University of Arkansas), pp. 103-104 — hereafter cited as "Letters."

5. Years afterward, Clarke described Davis as a person "with whom I maintained a near friendship as long as he lived He was the most brilliant of men in conversation, and was so regarded by all who knew him . . ." (*Autobiography, Diary and Correspondence*, ed. Edward Everett Hale [Boston, 1891], p. 36.) It has been said that Thackeray also admired his brilliant powers of conversation. Davis graduated from Harvard in 1829 and then attended Harvard Law School from 1829 to 1831. During 1831 and 1832 he studied law in the office of Wells and Alvord, Greenfield, Massachusetts, being admitted to the bar as Attorney of the Common Pleas in Franklin County in the autumn of 1832. During 1832 and 1833 he was editor of the *Taunton Whig*, and from 1833 to 1836 he was editor and publisher of the *Franklin Mercury*. He was a member of the Massachusetts Senate from 1839 till 1840 and of the United States Congress from 1851 till 1853. (This information is primarily based on a letter to the author from Mr. Clifford Ship-ton, Custodian of the Harvard University Archives.)

6. "Letters," p. 30.

7. "Letters," p. 38.

8. "Letters," p. 54.

9. "I acknowledge I was really impolite to you on one occasion — the last evening I saw you. If you knew, or I could tell you, the substance of the conversation between H— and myself on that evening, you would excuse the seeming neglect which I showed toward you . . ." ("Letters," p. 79.)

10. "Letters," p. 80.

11. It is possible that the character of Emily in "Aglauron and Laurie: a Drive through the Country near Boston" was also based in part upon Harriet Russell. See *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Arthur B. Fuller (Boston, 1855), pp. 194-216. The incidents related, however, are all imaginary.

12. "On my way to N. York, I met Mrs. Welles of Paris . . . I thought to myself 'were this Jo Angier he would have a tender flirtation on the tapis before dark.' But as it was Jim Clarke, he only got introduced to her . . ." ("Letters," p. 55.)

13. "Letters," p. 105.

14. "Letters," p. 106.

15. *Memoirs*, I, 154.

16. When thwarted, Miss Fuller was subject to spells of sudden illness. As a child, she had fallen into "a complete hysterical innervation" when her idol, a visiting English woman, departed. (See Katharine Anthony, *Margaret Fuller: a Psychological Biography* [New York, 1921], p. 28.) Better known is the incident which Miss Fuller has related in *Summer on the Lakes, in 1843* (Boston, 1844), pp. 81-102. In this account, "Mariana," ridiculed by her schoolmates, goes to her room, locks the door, and falls to the floor in strong convulsions (p. 86) which had "sometimes threatened her life as a child, but of later years, she had outgrown . . ." Recovering from this illness, Mariana becomes a trouble maker. Eventually called upon to answer charges made against her, she denies all accusations until the other girls prove her a liar. Thereupon, she dashes her head upon the iron hearth and lies senseless. Recovering consciousness, she refuses for several days to speak or eat, growing steadily more feverish. In a footnote to this narrative, which was reprinted in *Life Without and Life Within* (Boston, 1859), Arthur B. Fuller stated (p. 259) that "It is well known that in this sketch my sister gives an account of her own school-girl life . . ." Three psychologists consulted by the author have agreed that Miss Fuller was subject to some form of conversion hysteria.

17. The unexpected death of her father, who died of cholera after an illness that lasted only one day, must have further intensified the impression which the Davis incident made on Margaret Fuller. She left her bed on September 29 or 30 — her father died on October 1.

18. Scattered throughout her writings are fragmentary narratives that might have been developed into full-fledged stories. Such are the description of Miranda in *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (pp. 38-43), the "Aglauron and Laurie" sketch already mentioned, and the account of Mariana. Interestingly enough, all of these — like "Lost and Won" — seem to deal with real persons disguised with fictional names. It apparently never occurred to Miss Fuller to try her hand at tales which were literally fictional.

Winsor's Letters from Europe

IN the summer of 1890 Justin Winsor, Librarian of Harvard University, and for almost ten years (1868-77) Superintendent of the Boston Public Library left America with his wife, daughter, and son-in-law for an extended tour of Europe. Before "doing" the Continent he stopped in England. It was his third visit there. He had stayed there as a student in his early twenties; and in 1877 he had attended the International Library Conference in London as the representative of the Boston Public Library, although he had already resigned from that institution. The man who succeeded him was Mellen Chamberlain. The two had known of each other before, but soon after they became fast friends.

While abroad, Winsor corresponded with several friends and acquaintances. The following letters have been selected from the many communications between him and Chamberlain that are preserved in the Mellen Chamberlain Papers at the Boston Public Library.

Joseph A. Boromé

London, Dec. 29. 90.

Dear Judge,—

I have just come from the shop of Bain the bookseller, in the Haymarket (no. 1.), whom I found talking with a gentleman. He proved to be Lord Wentworth, son of Lord Lovelace by Ada, daughter of Byron. It was an interesting link with John Murray's parlor in Albemarle St.¹ But what I wanted to say to you was that Bain wished to know if there was anybody in the States, who would care to buy the "copy" of the *Earthly Paradise* of William Morris. He said that Morris was in his shop the other day, and happened to spy the copy of one of Swinburne's books, which Bain had had bound and has since sold, and so asked if the "copy" of his own books was merchantable; for if they were, he did not know but he would sell them. I thought at the moment I would communicate the fact to you for your option of doing something or nothing. There was another thing which he had, and which seeks a purchaser, and that is two volumes of William Blake's designs for an edition of

Young's Night Thoughts, amounting to several hundred, a selection of 100 of which have been engraved. If you care enough about the matter to look in the 2^d ed. of Gilchrist's Life of Blake, you will find a detailed account of them in the app. to vol. ii. Bain wants £1500 (perhaps guineas — I forget which) for them.

We have been in London four weeks, and I have put the date of our leaving 3 weeks hence, which will bring in all my engagements here. The seven weeks of London bid fair to be filled with almost unceasing attention on the part of friends old and new, — under Cabinet ministers, bishops, deans, canons, book-publishers, geographers, literary men, editors and Bohemians, to say nothing of M.P.s. Of the latter I have dined with Sir Henry Roscoe and Bryce, both Gladstonians to the backbone.² Much the larger part of the people I come in contact [with] are opponents of the G.O.M., some of them violent haters; more of them liberal unionists than tories. The Gladstonians are of course staggered at the present Irish embroilment: but Roscoe says they shall stick to the old man. Bryce says nothing on earth could induce him to vote with the tories. I suppose that the division among the better classes, who are not conservatives, is about as it is in the Reform Club (where I am a member as of this Club also) which has about 400 Gladstonians against 1000 Unionists. There politics is not so rampant as at the Reform; and there is a large body of torism in the prevailing sentiment.

This Club (the Athenaeum) is made up first of Cabinet officers, Bishops, Judges of the higher courts, men distinguished in science, literature, art and the public service. Vacancies are filled with these classes first, and then the waiting list takes what vacancies are left. I looked at the nomination books the other day. Almost every body of distinguished name in England for 70 years is seen among the proposers and seconders of names in that record. They are selecting now for [*sic*] their undistinguished classes, names, which have been on the books since 1875. You can readily see that a club so composed is likely to have a strong tory element. While I found on the members' list at the Reform only perhaps 3 or 4 names of persons whom I know, and perhaps 20 whom I care much to know, there are a hundred or more of the latter class here, and at least 30 or 40, whom I know.

In the lunch room here the other day, I almost overheard a Cabinet Council. At the next table to mine sat Salisbury, Goschen, W. H. Smith and Matthews, with their heads together over papers.³

Bryce gave me the entry to the Ho. of Commons the night before they adjourned; and I saw the government bench plied with

questions from the opposition. The questions are all printed before hand with the questioner's name, and the speaker calls them up in order. I suppose the government has the list sufficiently in advance for conferences as to the answers. After this Tim Healy attacked Balfour's new Irish land purchase bill.⁴ He shook his finger at the Irish Secretary, and said bitter things, amid occasional cries of "order" from the government benches. Their outbursts seemed to inspirit him, and he simply drew up and repeated the offensive phrases, and continued to repeat them just as long as they cried order. The tories finally saw it was of no use, and let him go on. Balfour replied; but he seemed fidgetty [*sic*], and avoided the points which Healy had made. Then Sir George Trevelyan followed attacking the bill.⁵ He had a sort of ponderous emphasis, and seemed the chosen champion for the occasion, for he stood at Gladstone's feet, and the old man leaned forward occasionally, and evidently prompted him to a point or two. Gladstone said nothing himself but was very attentive to each side, turning round to who was speaking [*sic*] and cupping his ear with his left hand. He got up once and went down by the speaker's chair to answer a written message which had been brought in to him, and I observed that he walked briskly. He is 81 today. I have not met him. I hoped to do so in Edinburgh, for he told the Signet librarian, that he expected to send to me to ask me to come and see him; for he wanted to talk over some library problems. He is now building a public library near Hawarden Castle, to which he expects to leave his own library.

Liddell, the Dean of Christ Church at Oxford, whom I lunched with when there, told me that Gladstone had recently been staying with him, being a graduate of that College.⁶ "We never said a word of politics" he added. "Gladstone knows my views are opposed to his; but he is an admirable talker and one of the best informed men, whom I know." A gentleman, who recently spent a day or two at Hawarden Castle, said that talking in his library, if any thing came up, which needed a reference to a book, he was up after it in a moment, and in searching for one, he actually crawled on his hands and knees about the base of his cases.

I have been making considerable investigations in the Archives systems here. They are not by any means as free from defects, as I supposed. Still we have much to learn from them. I lunched with Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, one of the Commission on Hist. MSS. the other day, and sucked him dry on their methods.⁷

I have been so busy with seeing people, that I have not done much in seeing things. The weather has been so wretchedly dark and foggy and cold, — almost or perhaps for a life time quite so — that there

has been little comfort in sight seeing. One, not a spectator can little imagine what a misfortune a fall of two inches of snow is here. It endangers locomotion as long as it lasts and costs the public thousands to get rid of it. The atmosphere is normally so charged with moisture, that there is no perceptible evaporation, as the air can't take up anymore. The mixture of soot and dirt with the snow soon renders it a paste. There is no sun to melt it. In all these snow storms, which they call so dreadful here, there has not been a fall, that an hour's bright sun with us would not have carried off. There is on a roof under my window, in Jermyn St. an inch or so of blackened snow, which has laid exposed to the sun — if there had been one — for a fortnight without lessening.

I live in hopes our remaining 3 weeks in London may give us a few days fit to see sights. I have for instance a ticket in my pocket to see the wax effigies in the Abbey, which the Dean of Westminster sent me ten days ago, and there has not been a day in which you could see them, if you went there. The fog penetrates even the houses. I was in the British Museum the other day, and passing down the length of the King's library, there seemed quite as much fog there as I had left out of doors. The electric lights which lit the room were as sickly as those in the streets.

I began this simply to tell you what I saw at Bain's and have run on like a garrulous old man, which I hope is not yet the condition of

Yours

Justin Winsor

Paris, Jan. 31. 91.

Dear Judge,—

Your letter of the 15th finds me here in Paris, where we have been for nearly a week. We left London nearly a fortnight ago, and an invitation has followed me here to dine with the Hon. Company of the Benchers of the Middle Temple, and I should like to have had the chance; but it was hardly worth returning to London for, even though by doing so, I could also have enjoyed another belated dinner at Mr. Reeve's, the Editor of the *Edinburgh Review*.⁸ We took the trip from London leisurely, and stopped at Canterbury, Amiens and Rouen, and had an exceptionally smooth passage from Dover to Calais. Rouen I had seen before a good many years ago, but some parts looked familiar, though the place in its commercial prosperity has had some changes for the better in its externals, but to the diminution of its old-time flavor.

Paris is vastly changed since I saw it, with half its present popu-

lation, not much short of 40 years ago, when I was fresh and receptive, beyond what I am now. Napoleon III and Hausmann [*sic*] with their boulevards and spider-web tangle of avenues have made the place more open, more impressive perhaps, and better suited possibly to quel [*sic*] mobs by its central points of radiating thoroughfares; but the torch of the Commune has swept away some of the old familiar spots associated with recollections of what I saw on Dec. 2, 1852, when I heard the Empire proclaimed from the Hotel de Ville — replaced by a new building — and saw the Emperor make his entry into the City and bow to the plaudits from a balcony of the Tuileries, now in the dust.⁹ The loss of this palace is not on the whole an architectural defect, since the view into the Place du Carrousel, which is opened, is effective, with the new monument to Gambetta rising against the inner façade of the Louvre. The old Hotel de Ville too is replaced by a later structure, resembling, I think — I have not yet seen it — the building from a balcony of which I heard the Empire proclaimed by the prefect of the Seine, earlier in the morning of that same day. In looking about for the spots where I lived during that six or eight months in Paris, I find the Hotel du Rhin still much the same in the Place Vendôme; but I must get in the street, where the Avenue de l'Opera has been cut through the Boulevard des Capucines to find the spot on which I lodged during the larger part of that sojourn.

I saw during those months the word *nationale* changed on all the public buildings to *impériale*, and now they are all changed back again. No one can tell when the next change will come. There are indications that Paris sleeps on a volcano. The government cringes before the possibility of being obliged to maintain itself. The experience within a few days of the suppression of Sardou's *Thermidor* all points to this. Here was a play aimed at Robespierre and his enormities, and the Censor had sanctioned it at rehearsal. A pack of socialist deputies with all Robespierre's tendencies could not stomach the rebuke, and they assembled at the play and would not let it go on for hisses, whereupon the government slunk about to the other side and prohibited another performance, instead of protecting the theatre against the marauders. The question was carried to the House of Deputies, and here the last action of the government was sustained, and the Comédie Française is out the 100,000 francs which it had expended on the setting of the play. It is an open secret that a large majority of the deputies were honest enough to think the socialist onset an outrage, and yet enough of them voted with the radicals to confirm the suppression. There is said not to have been so animated a debate since the times of the Boulanger

uproar. This only means that the friends of order and good government quailed before the threatened storm which a continuance of the play might have too assuredly raised, the outcome of which might be disastrous to their stability. A government trembling in their boots is not reassuring.

Still France to a stranger is a blythsome country. I had an exceptionally good time in England and was kindly treated everywhere; but I felt all the while that every where I was in a cloud of beggars. England is the home of mendicity, and every one is a beggar from the Queen to the poor cripple who sweeps the crossing. Her Majesty begs for allowances, and instructs her humblest servitors to hold out their hands for shillings, at every ruined castle which the crown possesses. Princes and dukes accept sinecures and feel no compunctions at sucking at the public treasure. Government every where charges a shilling to see its sights. Servants belittle their masters at country homes by exacting gratuities from the guests. The miserable part of it is that the English people do not see the depths of disgrace to which such a condition reduces them, — or rather, I suspect, they dont want to see it. The wretch to hospitality by such practices is I think felt; but it needs some strong social leader to revolutionize the customs. They do it in their clubs but not in their houses. They make no protest if you are shadowed by expectant servants in their mansions, but I was told at their clubs that the practice of feeing their servants did not obtain, either for the members or for their honorary members. Why cant they rise to a similar high scale of hospitality in their houses? The contrast in France is marked. There are few demands on your pocket in seeing all the sights that Paris has to offer, and in the days of passports I remember how the bearer of one got entry to many a place where the Parisian was denied access.

I have seen no one here yet, and have not as yet been to the national library, nor to any of the Archives. I have written notes to HARRISSE and to JACKSON of the Société de Géographie; but only today.¹⁰

Faithfully
Justin Winsor

Lake Como. May 16, 1891.

Dear Judge,—

A despatch of mine to Barings lately for letters somehow mis-carried, and so your kind letter of Apr. 23^d did not reach me till yesterday, having taken a turn round through Venice, and back to

London. This is the first mishap with my letters which I have had since I came over.

We have the Boston papers and I had seen occasional reference to your doings in them, and so had not wholly lost sight of you, since your last to me. Whitney in one of his letters mentioned your having been to the library.¹¹ I heard of Abbott and McKim while in Rome.¹² I was asked one day if I w^d not suggest to them that Vedder, — who is living in Rome and at one of whose receptions I was one day — would be an excellent person to decorate one of the new halls in the Library building.¹³ I avoided a reply. Then shortly after at Vedder's, he told me that Abbott had not stopped in Rome, but had gone on to Constantinople or somewhere else. I manifested no eagerness for information & so got none. I don't know what it all means, further than that I saw in a Boston paper that these 2 gentlemen had gone to Europe to look after marbles for interior decoration of the Library.

I shall be glad to talk over the suggestions, growing [?] out of your studies *in re* Belknap, some time. It is rather curious.

I think I last wrote to you from Paris. I did not enjoy the place much. Paris wants sunshine and mildness. I saw something there of John Bigelow, who was passing the winter there.¹⁴ He was intending to reach N. Y. about this time; when he expected the Court would give a final decision in the Tilden will case.¹⁵ He was very confident that the will would be sustained. I hardly shared his confidence; but he must know the workings of law in N.Y. much better than I do.

We left Paris to get a touch of tropical surroundings in Mentone, and stayed there a fortnight. It was agreeable after our long hibernation at the north. We took various drives along the Cornici [*sic*] road; and the time passed pleasantly. From Mentone we drove to San Remo, & then went by rail to Genoa, and passed a few days. Then to Pisa & to Florence, where we stayed three weeks, and so passed, stopping a night at Orvieto, to Rome. We had nearly three weeks there of driving about seeing sights, and we saw also a little of the social life of the place. The head librarian, Grampini, of the Vittorio Emanuele library has a Boston lady for his wife and I saw Villari, Stillman, Vedder, and various others, and went to 2 or 3 receptions.¹⁶ Still Rome was not so attractive but that I left it willingly.

The atmosphere of united Italy is rather oppressive, and it is painful to see a country, trying to rejuvenate itself, while it is nailed down with taxes and a monstrous standing army. I had a long talk with Vallari, the minister of public instruction, and a cabinet

officer, who has come in with the present ministry on the plea of retrenchment and reform. But he evidently was hoping against fate, and had no expectations that anything that could be done, would rid the land of placemen and its debased civil service. The complaint is universal. I know nothing equal to it, except it be the pension-greed of the United States. Italy, poverty-stricken and delapidated, stands in need above all things of a vigorous independence of character, with her hands freed from all unnecessary burdens, if she is to work out successfully the problem of unification. She is a mass of repellant atoms, her interests are all localized, her history is one of intestine rancor. To overcome all this and make a homogeneous people, needs every thing that she had not got; and to do it by taxes and the weight of the military power, is I fear, a task that will not in the end suffice. The administrative sloth of the people is oppressive. I have seen a good many English and American residents, and almost without exception, they give the people a bad name for business management. The traveller certainly would lose patience at every turn, if it were worth while.

I went back to Florence for a few days to see the libraries, as the Easter holiday closing of them had prevented my doing so before.¹⁷ I was much with Willard Fiske, and he and his carriage seemed at my service morning and night.¹⁸ I stopped for a night or two at Bologna and then spent ten days in Venice, the most striking feature of which is its shabbiness. Rowing about in a gondola is charming as a first impression; but the monotony and confinement of it becomes tiresome, and I hardly think I could take up a permanent residence in the place. The air of it is debilitating, and the Canals are often noisome, notwithstanding there is a fall of the tide sufficient to make a current. I found D. S. Curtis living in a fine palazzo on the Grand Canal, in which he has fitted up every apartment with as little to suggest modern and other life as possible.¹⁹ I met at his house the Calendrist of the Venetian Archives, who represents here the Master of the Rolls, and he proved a very genial fellow and was helpful to me in looking into their archives system.

We stopped 2 days at Verona, where I stretched my legs, and had 4 days in Milan, but it rained nearly all the time. I longed for a sunny day to see how it would affect the great impressiveness of the dim majesty of the Duomo in its interior; but I did not get it. We have been here since Monday last — it is now Saturday, and have had some good days, sprinkled with tempestuous intervals. Today has been in intermittent tempest all the while, and the clouds have either obscured everything or hung in patches half

way up the mountains, whose snowy summits have at times been lit with the sun. The wind sighs and once in a while lasts long enough to lash the waves till they break on the banks. I don't know whether you were ever here, but it is one of the routes to take either the Splügen or St. Gotthard pass in going into Switzerland, and we go to Lugano & so through the Gotthard tunnel next Tuesday. We shall take 2 days in going from Lugano to Lucerne, and after spending some days there proceed to Berne and John D. Washburn!²⁰ I suppose it is not quite sure which of the two is the bigger so as first to strike our strained vision. I shall be glad to see John in all his glory.

I am getting on with my Columbus very well, and have seen nearly all of it in galleys. There will be left nothing to do but to give a final look to the plate pages and to make an index, when I get home. It will make an octavo of some 6-700 pages.

Faithfully
Justin Winsor

Notes

1. John Murray, 1808-1892, proprietor of London publishing house.
2. Henry Enfield Roscoe, 1833-1915, English chemist; James Bryce, 1838-1922, diplomat, jurist, historian.
3. Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne-Cecil, 1830-1903, 3rd Marquis of Salisbury, Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary 1885-1886, 1886-1892, 1895-1902; George Joachim Goschen, 1831-1907, Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1886-1892; William Henry Smith, 1825-1891, First Lord of the Treasury and leader of the House of Commons from 1886; Henry Matthews, 1826-1913, Home Secretary, 1886-1892.
4. Timothy Michael Healy, 1855-1931, Irish nationalist leader; Arthur James Balfour, 1848-1930, chief Secretary for Ireland, 1887-1891.
5. George Otto Trevelyan, 1838-1928, historian, chief Secretary for Ireland, 1886, 1892-1895.
6. Henry George Liddell, 1811-1898.
7. Edmond George Petty-Fitzmaurice, 1846-1935, historian and statesman.
8. Henry Reeve, 1813-1895.
9. Georges Eugene Haussmann, 1809-1891, Prefect of the Seine 1853-1870, and planner of designs to improve Paris.
10. Henry Harris, 1830-1910, historian; James Jackson, 1843-1895, author and librarian.
11. James Lyman Whitney, 1835-1910, Chief of the Catalogue Department, Boston Public Library, 1874-1899.

12. Samuel A. B. Abbott, Trustee of the Boston Public Library, 1879-1895; Charles Follen McKim, 1847-1909, architect who had a hand in designing the Copley Square building.

13. Elihu Vedder, 1836-1923, American painter.

14. John Bigelow, 1817-1911, writer and diplomat.

15. Samuel J. Tilden, 1814-1886, had left his fortune to a Tilden Trust, to be used to establish a free public library in New York City.

16. Pasquale Villari, 1827-1917, Italian historian, educator and statesman; William J. Stillman, 1828-1901, American artist and journalist.

17. At the Biblioteca Nazionale the staff stood as he and the rector entered the rooms. Willard Fiske told him it was in his honor as a visiting librarian (Winsor to Horace E. Scudder, April, 19, 1891, Winsor Family Papers).

18. Daniel Willard Fiske, 1831-1904, American editor, librarian, and book-collector.

19. Daniel Sargent Curtis, 1825-1908, Trustee of the Boston Public Library, 1873-1875.

20. John Davis Washburn, 1833-1903, lawyer, diplomat, 1889-1892, U. S. minister to Switzerland.

Censorship in the Ancien Régime

(Continued from the January Issue)

By DAVID POTTINGER

IV. Censorship Administration in Practice

THE formalities for obtaining a permit became more and more complicated as the book trade developed.³⁷ Before the invention of printing, incorrect books found in circulation by the inspectors were publicly presented to the Rector of the University, and the seller was admonished in full assembly.³⁸ In the early sixteenth century the Parlement appointed committees of its own members or of members and Doctors of Theology to inspect bookshops for heretical books. As we have seen, they called upon members of the Faculty of Medicine to help them with medical and astrological books. They evidently considered themselves capable of dealing with works in history and law.³⁹ In 1544, however, the University asserted superior authority and passed a regulation forbidding the publication of any book unless the Rector and deans of the superior Faculties had been informed about it; the Rector was thereupon required to appoint two Masters in each Faculty to examine the books in their respective fields.⁴⁰ In 1551 the Parlement was forbidden to grant permits unless the book had first been examined by capable inspectors who would sign the memorandum and who could be held responsible for it. The law of 27 June 1551 stipulated that four Doctors of the Theological Faculty must examine every "new" book on religious subjects and certify its orthodoxy, this certificate to be printed at the beginning of each book together with the permit issued by the Chancellor. The law goes on to say that the Faculty shall keep their copy of the book (this seems to mean the manuscript itself), signed by the printer; and since it further says that inspections shall be made as quickly as possible, we must suppose that the publisher took the manuscript to the University, got his permit from the Chancellor before he started work, and then borrowed

the manuscript for printing. The laws of 17 September 1569 and of 11 May 1612, at any rate, stipulate that the permit must be secured before printing. The law of August 1624 also requires the censors to grant a certificate of approval before the Chancellor was asked for a permit.

The law of 1551 took care of two subsidiary matters. The first concerned the sale of books in the estates of deceased persons and sales in execution of judgments against debtors; in both cases all religious books must be examined and approved by inspectors from the University. The second matter covered sales by booksellers "following the Court"; here the Grand Almoner and the King's confessor or someone else appointed by the King must carry out the inspection.

The same law called upon the guild to appoint each year two master printers and two master publishers as inspectors of work in process in the various shops of Paris and Lyon. This of course was not a censor's inspection of the content of books but rather a policing check to ascertain that a permit had been issued by the Chancellor. This is made more definite in the law of 2 October 1643, which requires the inspectors to ask the printers to exhibit to them the duly sealed permits. Since the trade had been reorganized by that time, the committee henceforth consisted of the Syndic and four wardens of the guild.

One of the points on which much confusion had arisen during the civil wars concerned the proper office for the issuing of permits. In May 1612 the right to do so was specifically removed from councilors, masters of requests, and courts of Parlement and it was thereafter restricted to the Council of State acting through either the Chancellor or the Keeper of the Seals. Every permit had to be sealed with the Great Seal in wax. This important proviso was really the first step toward the concentration of authority over the book trade in the hands of the government. The law of 1624 reaffirms the procedure:

By these presents, signed by our own hand, we create, set up, and establish four censors and examiners who shall be selected from the Faculty of Theology of our University of Paris, henceforth to view, read, and examine all sorts of new books concerning theology, devotion, and morals which shall hereafter be printed in this kingdom. And if they find these books worthy of being brought to light and given to the public, they shall be obliged to give their attestation

and approval, and permits to print them shall be expedited in our Great Chancellery, and not elsewhere. We expressly forbid the officers of the chancelleries of our sovereign courts to issue such permits.

The actual procedure for submitting a manuscript to the censors is then explained. Two copies are to be provided by the applicant. The first, signed by the author and with each sheet initialed by him, is to remain in the censors' files; the second is to be given to the applicant with the signature and initials of the censors. The two older censors, or one of them in the absence of the other, are to distribute among the board any manuscripts presented at a meeting. After the reader has examined the copy, he is to confer with the others, or at least with one of the two older, in order to have two signatures on the certificate of approval. The permit itself must be countersigned by a secretary of state and sealed with the Great Seal.

Certain variations in this procedure appear in the Code Michaud (1629). As before, two copies of the manuscript must be presented to the Chancellor, but in the case of authors "of dignity or special merit" one of these may be dispensed with.⁴¹ On the first copy the Chancellor is to note the names of such persons as he thinks qualified by expert knowledge to examine the work. After reading the manuscript, the censor was to return it with a voucher showing his approval; he also signed his name at the bottom of each page and initialed each insertion and erasure. The second copy, duly compared with the first, was to go to the printer after the permit had been issued. The censor also had to check the first sheet of each form with his office copy⁴² and then affix his signature. The censor's voucher contained the simple statement: "I have read, by order of the Chancellor, a manuscript entitled I have found nothing in it to prevent the printing of it."⁴³ Chevallier recommended (p. 406) that the author of a religious book should make assurance doubly sure by consulting two censors, one appointed officially by the Chancellor, the other a representative of the Faculty of Theology who would confirm the first reader's judgment of the orthodoxy of the book.

The beginning of a register for permits is found in the law of 25 January 1649 which requires that permits for books on public affairs shall be recorded in the registry office of the Par-

lement. The law of 1705, repeated in the Code of 1723, required registration of every permit on the records of the guild within three months of the day of granting, and the entry must be exact, at full length, and without interlineation or erasure. These registers, with entries from 1653 to 1790, are now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Other checks on observance of the law may be noted. The first was the revocation of all general permits. These had been granted rather carelessly to ecclesiastical and lay organizations and to individual publishers. In 1659, 1674, and 1686 they were withdrawn and all printers were forbidden to regard them as valid. Archbishops, bishops, and religious orders were still free to print service books for their own use, and the law courts did not need approval for official publications but these must bear the name of a responsible lawyer. Still another check is the requirement in 1701, 1705, 1723, and 1744 that the censor's name, his opinion, and his certificate of approval must be included in each book as well as the permit. A third (1723) is that if the complete manuscript is not presented in the first instance, or if the work is to be in several volumes of which only one is submitted, then all additional material must be examined and approved separately and a new permit issued for each item. The Code of 1723 also directs that when the printing is finished, the printer must send the Chancellor the manuscript copy from which he worked or else a printed copy initialed page by page by the censor to indicate that he had collated it with the manuscript.

Books imported from foreign countries were always subject to close inspection before any bookseller was allowed to put them on sale. At first the importer was required to open the packages in the presence of four sworn publishers. At a later date, the inspectors had to be appointed by the Faculty of Theology or, in towns where there was no university, the work was done in the presence of a judge. When the guild organization was established, the bills of lading were shown to the provost of Paris, and then the bales were delivered from the custom-house to the guild headquarters and there opened in the presence of the syndic and wardens, police officials, or special inspectors. A foreign merchant intending to do temporary busi-

ness in Paris was obliged to submit to the guild a copy of every book he proposed to sell.⁴⁴

All these efforts to provide acceptable, correctly printed books did not necessarily involve the destruction of great quantities of unacceptable matter. Imported books might be turned back to the place of origin, though generally they were disposed of by the guild. If the author complied meticulously with the law, he would alter his manuscript in conference with his censor. On the other hand, if his printer had rushed into his work and presented a partially or completely printed book to the authorities as a basis for obtaining a permit, then objectionable matter could often be taken care of by reprinting a signature or by making cancels. Errata lists took care of minor errors in names, dates, punctuation, spelling, and the like.

V. Evasions of the Law

ALTHOUGH evasion of the censorship laws was as old as the laws themselves, it did not attain its highest development until the middle of the eighteenth century. In the early part of our period when the trade was small and the authorities were mainly concerned with heretical publications, the dealer in subversive books had a fairly easy problem to keep in business; but at the later date his ingenuity had to cope with a large array of repressive forces. We have already considered Malesherbes' explanation of the causes which made evasion easy. Beyond his statement there are several other reasons to be examined.

The basic one is that the general public did not want restrictions on what they could buy and read. This "general public," furthermore, was made up of that relatively small but disproportionately powerful section of the total population which could really do something about the matter. The authors were often their personal friends and of their own social standing — men like D'Holbach and Montesquieu, noblemen, high ecclesiastics, and leaders of fashion. Most of the selling was done by colporters or book peddlers, whose actual numbers were far in excess of the legal limit of one hundred and twenty. These men

had free access to the homes of the wealthy, for there was often little social distinction between merchant and customer.

Much of the colporters' stock consisted of pamphlets and small books which could be carried "under the cloak." Since there were no daily newspapers and since readers were intensely interested in the topics treated, these booklets were read with all the eagerness we now devote to editorials, leading articles, and news summaries. They supplied a fundamental human need for information and discussion; and the more controversial the subject, the more anxious were the readers to get the latest presentation. A spice of wit and malicious gossip did not harm sales.

In the next place, the booksellers and the printers themselves encouraged evasion of the laws. Once the subterranean trade had been started, the profits turned out to be very large.⁴⁵ No publisher or author wanted to cut himself off from such a good market. And, with a glance at his brothers in the trade, he would remark that since the books would get circulated in any event, it was better to let French printers have the work than to smuggle in books printed abroad.

Another consideration that made evasion easy was that a permit was no guarantee against condemnation of a book after it was published. Marais gives us some interesting details of the four-cornered fight among Jesuits, the Parlement, the censors, and the Imprimerie Royale over Father Jean Hardouin's *Conciliorum Collectio*, issued by the Imprimerie in twelve folio volumes in 1715.⁴⁶ The struggle went on for ten years, by the end of which most of the edition must have been sold. When the various departments of the government could thus confuse the fundamental issues, it is not surprising that there was no respect for the law.

Furthermore there was little encouragement to respect the censors as judges.⁴⁷ In many cases they had no knowledge of their duties and no qualifications for their office. One of them once examined a certain translation and passed it thus: "I have read, by order of the Chancellor, a work called *The Koran*, by Mahomet, and I find nothing in it contrary to religion and morals." Subordinate teachers, minor abbés, and secretaries to officials filled most of the positions. Malesherbes insisted that

a knowledge of Latin together with a smattering of Greek and of elementary philosophy did not render any man capable of dictating the reading of a whole nation.⁴⁸ And the final touch of cynicism came when one of these poor creatures found his name forged on a permit for a book he had never looked at.⁴⁹

The simplest way to evade the spirit if not the letter of the law was for an author to get a friendly censor to read his manuscript. If the verdict even then was not favorable, a second or third or fourth might be approached. In the case of Hardouin's book, for instance, the Parlement ordered certain corrections on the basis of a report from its own readers; whereupon the Jesuits persuaded the King to appoint another group, who gave a contrary opinion. Indeed, if the author had enough influence, he might dodge the censors altogether by getting his work printed by the government itself at some royal private press.⁵⁰

One of the oldest tricks was to insert additional matter in a manuscript after the censor had given his approval. This new material could take many forms — prefaces, forewords, dedicatory letters, supplements, tables, and so on; and it might easily be of a nature that even the most careless censor could not pass. On the other hand the addition might consist of a continuation volume or a supplement which the publisher tried to cover with the original voucher. Or the whole of a book printed abroad might be added as an appendix to a book for which a permit had been granted. The law quickly stopped this loophole by stipulating that the censor must sign or initial not only every sheet of the manuscript but every cancelation, every erasure, and every reference and footnote.

If the publisher did not wish to issue a book without any imprint whatever, he could resort to still another very ancient practice, that of clandestine printing. As far back as 1539 the law forbade printing elsewhere than "in good towns and in houses arranged for this purpose, and not in secret places"; and "printers shall not print any books except in their own name and in their own shop and shall not assume the name of anyone else." It need not surprise us to encounter the same provisions nearly two centuries later in the law of 29 May 1728, and to find Barbier remarking in 1757 (*Journal*, IV, 237) that books with fictitious imprints were very common.

In such cases the name of a rival publisher — and even the name of the author — might be forged, and the city of origin be given as Amsterdam or London or some other foreign town. Or the names of the printer and place might be purely fanciful. Weller's lists of books with fictitious imprints contain 90 entries for the sixteenth century, 1160 for the seventeenth, and about 4500 for the eighteenth. Cities of origin are put down as Callicut (for Lyon), Corinthe (for Neufchâtel), Hédén (for Geneva), Cairo, Cana in Galilee, or such imaginary places as Alethopolis, the Antipodes, Bacchopolis, Demonopolis, Eleutheres, and Isle de Calipso. The favorite printer was "Pierre Marteau" of "Cologne" but he had companions in Pierre Bonne-Humeur, Cromwell, Cupidon, L'Ingenu, Jean Disant-vray, and Pantaleon de la Lune.⁵¹ Brunet has spotted the following curious dates: 1168 (for 1756), 5590 (for 1790), 1440 (for 1740); 1765, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12; and 1000 700 60 16 (for 1776).

Generally the printing would be done in Paris itself either by an authorized person with equipment in his own house or by a master's journeymen working with his tacit consent in the shop or else at home with type stolen from the master. In 1789 there were over a hundred small portable presses hidden in cellars, stables, or closets. The officials of the guild were sometimes ordered to patrol the streets at night and listen for the sound of presses running illegally. Sometimes a master might be betrayed to the authorities by his foreman. The printer Osmond was caught in this predicament in October 1727; he managed to escape into safe hiding but his workmen and his servants were imprisoned. Four years later the police paid him another surprise visit; this time he pointed the way upstairs to the shop and escaped in his night shirt. His three workmen were thrown into prison but his wife was allowed to keep the shop open. On another occasion in 1731 Chauvelin, the Director of the Book Trade, accompanied by the guild officials, went on a frantic hunt for the printer of the *Gazette ecclésiastique*. They made a routine call on the printer Bullot, but since he had an excellent reputation, the officials told Chauvelin that he need not go to the bother of climbing up to the shop on the third floor and that they would send a couple of assistants around in the afternoon to make the real inspection. To their amazement

when they did come, they found the men busily working on the very job they were after! Unfortunately they made a slight noise and so the workmen were able to escape.⁵²

All the regular booksellers, members of the guild though they were, sold forbidden books "under the counter." They did not fear inspection because they were colleagues and friends of today's inspectors and would themselves have the job tomorrow. Their main stock was held in a warehouse and only a few copies were kept in the shop.

The greater part of this illicit business, however, was in the hands of the colporters. These men did not have shops but kept their stock at home; they went to the great houses, especially in the country, and sold books, just as other peddlers sold their wares, or they sold them in restaurants and theaters or directly to passers-by in the streets, or they had a stand in certain privileged places which were not within the guild's jurisdiction. Malesherbes noted that the only authorized colporters were those who wore a brass badge and cried their pamphlets through the streets.⁵³ The others were merely tolerated for the convenience of the public because the law restricted the regular booksellers to the University quarter.

The final way for an author to evade the censorship was to have his books really printed in a foreign country and smuggled into France. Most of this business was centered in Holland, with Switzerland as a close second. A very large proportion of French books of the eighteenth century therefore correctly carry in the imprint such towns as the Hague, Amsterdam, Liège, Neufchâtel, Lausanne, Geneva, Berne, Copenhagen, and London. The provincial printers, especially those in Lyon, Rouen, and Toulouse, not only did a great deal of the printing but maintained depositories and acted as wholesalers for the colporters of Paris.⁵⁴ During the second half of the century there was an elaborate chain trade in these books along all the frontiers. The government tried to stop it by sending ambassadors to foreign countries to negotiate for suppressing it at the source, and sometimes these foreign authorities did arrest authors and send them back to France for punishment.

The handling of imports is thus described by Belin (*Commerce*, pp. 56-57):

Every package of books coming into Paris was carried to the customhouse, then to the guild hall, where it was examined. These inspections were at first made by the syndic and wardens; but since they proved too unscrupulous, commissioners from the Châtelet and police officers were soon added; then the King named two inspectors of the guild in whose presence the examination took place. If the bundles contained any new books, the Director of the Book Trade was notified. But the guild did not have the right to confiscate anything; it could only notify the Director. The latter then sent the work to a censor or else made an immediate decision. Often Malesherbes allowed the publisher to whom the package was addressed to receive a few copies to see what effect the book would have on the public. But he could also order that the detained packages be sent to their destination or that they be returned to the sender.

There were many ways to smuggle books in without this legal inspection. They could be sent over the frontier at night. They could be passed through the customs by a false declaration or by wrapping the books in other merchandise or by bribing an employee or by substituting packages en route. Peddlers brought in packages, using carriages and trunks with double bottoms. Distinguished persons brought in books, sometimes quite consciously and sometimes as unsuspecting covers for their servants. Sometimes an author living abroad would send a few copies of his latest book to a relative in Paris who would receive them without inspection and then use them to work up a demand.⁵⁵ In short, every trick known to smugglers at any period was employed. Success seems to have been the rule except when some publisher was trying to sneak in a pirated edition of a best seller issued by a rival. But that did not involve censorship regulations.

VI. Penalties for Violations of the Law

ALMOST every conceivable penalty was invoked in the effort to secure compliance with the law, the only notable omission being excommunication. This of course was *ultra vires* the civil government but it is certainly strange that it was not used at any time by the ecclesiastical authorities. Sometimes the penalty was specifically left to the discretion of the judges,

though as a matter of fact every one of the laws could be stretched or a forgotten law could be revived to fit any case. Penalties included confiscation of books, burning of books, corporal punishment, depriving the printer and the publisher of their privilege, suspending them from business, confiscating or smashing equipment, the pillory, fines, imprisonment, banishment, the galleys, and death.

In 1526 the Parlement called upon the owners of Lutheran books to surrender them within a week, and six years later appointed a commission to inspect all the bookshops of Paris and confiscate heretical books. In 1551 the state took a hand in this but made an exception in favor of ecclesiastics who might hold such books for the purpose of inspecting them, discussing them, and confuting them in sermons and elsewhere. Books not printed in clear type and on good paper, with the names of printer and publisher and the permit and privilege, were to be confiscated, according to the law of 1618. The same law orders the seizure of libelous, seditious, and irreligious books — with the note that the officers of the guild are to reserve one third of the goods for themselves. What use they could legally make of them except as waste paper, is problematical. Such a provision could lead to all sorts of abuses, and in the late eighteenth century it was common for police inspectors to sell back to the booksellers books that had just been confiscated.⁵⁶

The burning of undesirable books is a practice inherited from most ancient times. In some cases it may have seemed the easiest way to deal with volumes that gave no indication of author or printer but even in our period, when there was universal fear of witchcraft and when folklore had a powerful hold over all classes, there was undoubtedly more than a trace of sympathetic magic in this penalty. Burning a book was to destroy an author's thought and therefore his soul, the man himself.⁵⁷ The practice continued right down to February and March of 1789, during which months the Council of State ordered four books to be burned by the common hangman.⁵⁸ In fact Peignot, in his dictionary of the "principal" books condemned to the fire, gives a total of one hundred titles for the eighteenth century as against seventy-three for the seventeenth and only thirty-seven for the sixteenth.⁵⁹ Rocquain (*Es-*

prit révolutionnaire, pp. 489-535) lists 386 titles condemned to be burned between 1715 and 1789; these include only the ones that were dealt with by the Conseil d'Etat, the Parlement, the Châtelet, and the Grand Conseil. How many were destroyed in this way is anybody's guess. Peignot omits a great many that are listed by Farrer,⁶⁰ and both of them overlook many that are mentioned in the journals of Barbier, D'Argenson, Bachaumont, Moreau, and other writers of memoirs. Many of the greatest writers knew that their masterpieces received this attention from the authorities — Desperier, Pascal, Rousseau,⁶¹ Beaumarchais, Raynal, Voltaire, D'Holbach, Etienne Dolet — a strangely assorted company.

Manuel complained jokingly that the police of Paris did not make so great a ceremony of book-burning as the Church officials in Rome did. In Paris the chief of police and his subordinates did the job with no witnesses save the silent walls of the Bastille. Bundles were broken open, all copies of each title brought together, a list written out, file copies set aside, and a date decided upon for the destruction. Books that were to be torn up were handled only by minor officers and the workmen employed by the pasteboard-maker who bought the volumes as waste paper. If a book was to be burned, it was so treated either within the prison or in the Place Maubert by the public hangman or his deputy.⁶²

More serious interference with an offender's business was graded in severity. By the laws of 1701 and 1723 failure to register the permit and the privilege on the books of the guild within three months of the day they were issued, would nullify the monopoly on the sale of the title. In 1649 noncompliance was to be punished by seizure of the presses and type, which were to be sold to the highest bidder and the proceeds distributed in alms at the Hôtel Dieu in Paris. By the law of 1627 printing without a privilege was to be punished by suspension from business for a year. In 1717 the period was left indefinite but the alternative was added that a master might be permanently deprived of his standing. The law of 1727 stipulated that printers and publishers who failed to live up to their duty were to be treated in this way and their shops were to be walled up. If the informer was an apprentice or a journeyman capable of

carrying on the shop, his master's place was preferably to be given to him together with all the presses and confiscated equipment, and the master was obliged to pay all the costs of his workman's reception into the guild. This is certainly a childish threat.

In view of general business conditions, fines must have been a very serious form of punishment. They ran all the way from two hundred livres for a first offence (May 1571) to five hundred (2 February 1620), to six thousand (10 July 1624). In 1757 the fine for running a clandestine press was set at six thousand livres for the first offence and double that amount if the offence were repeated.

Imprisonment was meted out as a punishment from earliest times. The Bastille, Vincennes, For-l'Evêque, and Saint-Lazare were the great State prisons, and there were many smaller places of detention in the provinces. DuPont⁶³ calculates that between 1660 and 1756 the Bastille received 869 authors, printers, and book-sellers and print dealers. Pellisson estimates the number of authors to be about 10 per cent of this total. The number seems to have been rather low in the seventeenth century, when other punishments were more usual, but through the middle decades of the eighteenth century there were few authors, prominent or obscure, who did not spend at least twenty-four hours in jail.⁶⁴

Diderot's stay in Vincennes in 1749 left him dull and nervous, unable to concentrate.⁶⁵ LaBaumelle, who was confined in the Bastille for a couple of months in 1753, was greatly depressed by his sojourn there.⁶⁶ Young Mirabeau, son of "the friend of man," was held for several years in Vincennes, "where the years are just as long as they are in the Bastille"; he spent his time in writing a book which gives, says LaHarpe, "curious and terrifying details regarding the internal administration of the State prisons."⁶⁷ Morellet, however, had an entirely different experience, perhaps because the government was warned that his knowledge of commercial affairs made him very useful to the administration.⁶⁸ His term for attacking Palissot for the latter's comedy *Les Philosophes* (1760) was only a little over two months, though he had to leave Paris for a while afterward. He tells us that his first night was uncomfortable be-

cause he was worried about what might happen to his printer. The next day Sartine came to examine him and promised that the printer would be left alone. The second day Malesherbes sent him some books, he was given access to the prison library, and he was provided with ink and paper. The rest of his time passed pleasantly, and he did a tremendous amount of reading and writing. Incidentally he had three excellent meals a day. He was comforted by the thought that his experience would further his literary reputation; and that is just what did happen.

Banishment was evidently recognized for the boomerang it actually was. Though it was not often applied, the list of great writers who were forced to live and work beyond the frontiers reveals how severe a loss to the country this was. One need only recall the names of Casaubon, Dumoulin, Descartes, and Bayle, of Voltaire and Rousseau. Exile could not stop their pens, nor did it have any deeper effect upon the crowds of printers and publishers who, especially after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, kept the presses busy in Holland, England, Germany, and Switzerland and from these points of safety loosened a flood of books upon the French market.

One of the earliest instances of condemnation to the galleys is that of the bookseller Vivenay who in 1649 was found guilty of distributing Mazarinades.⁶⁹ It was not until the *édit* of 10 May 1728 that this penalty was made official; it is there prescribed (for a term of five years) for a second offence in the case of printers who issued without a permit any books on disputed matters of religion. It was repeated in the *édit* of 16 April 1757, which forbade writing, printing, or selling books attacking religion or the authority of the King or troubling the order and tranquillity of the State. It was rumored that the King's Council had issued this law for personal reasons and because the magistrates had been roughly treated in current pamphlets.⁷⁰ Even the officers of the Châtelet were not inclined to execute it. Nevertheless on 7 September of the same year the poet La-Martellière was condemned to the galleys for nine years, and the abbé de Capmartin was given the same punishment and was also condemned to be burned on the shoulder. Both culprits, however, had already escaped safely. In 1768 several colporters were sent to the galleys for distributing obscene books.

When Francis I issued his famous decree of 13 January 1535 forbidding all printing, he set the penalty for noncompliance as hanging. It was not until 11 December 1547 that the death penalty was definitely fixed for the printing and selling of unapproved books on religion. This was repeated in the laws of September 1563, January 1626, March 1635, and April 1757, and it was extended at the same time to cover seditious books. Each of these dates, it will be noted, also marks a moment of severe political stress when the authorities felt driven to inspire fear and even terror in the minds of all law-breakers and possible revolutionists. During the wars of religion several printers and booksellers were broken on the wheel or burned or hanged for the crime of heresy and printing of heretical books — such men as Geoffroi Vallée and Etienne Dolet. There were fewer burnings and hangings during the seventeenth century, and these mostly for seditious publications. By 1757 the death penalty for such offences was everywhere recognized as too severe and even Malesherbes pointed out the impossibility of enforcing the new law.

VII. Defects of the Censorship

ONE of the most curious things about censorship during the ancien régime is that it did not apply to authors until a very late date. The cases against Etienne Dolet and a few others in the early sixteenth century seem to have been based on their activities as heretics in general rather than upon their work as writers. It was not until 1560, nearly a hundred years after printing was introduced into France, that the writers of astrological prognostications and almanacs were threatened with imprisonment, nor until 1571 that authors as well as printers and sellers of libels were marked specifically for prosecution. The establishment of boards of censors was a first groping toward cutting off the supply of undesirable books at the source, and even that attempt was feeble until the reorganization of the system in 1742. Printers, publishers, importers, and censors were held responsible but authors were either ignored completely or could escape unobserved under a cloak of anonymity

while the officers of the law pursued the other participants in the trade. The great increase in the number of censors after 1742 is a striking proof of a change in point of view and method of attack on the problem.

Even then there were many defects. The author always knew the name of his censor, and the two of them were likely to hold interminable conferences that a spirited man would resent.⁷¹ If the censor were competent, he was likely to be the author's friend or his rival and therefore not impartial; if he were incompetent, and this was often the case, he might try to justify himself by magnifying inconsequential details.⁷² And in general, as Belin points out (*Commerce*, pp. 21-24), it is physically difficult to read with minute care a long and poorly written manuscript and form an objective judgment either on its parts or on its whole tenor.

Other startling defects in the system have already been implied. Execution was at first in the comparatively feeble hands of the University professors and later in the hands of guild members who could not possibly be impartial, and also in the hands of venal police officers and inspectors. And all the officials, with the exception of the censors, worked upon material that was actually in circulation and in many cases had been in circulation for a considerable length of time. To condemn a large investment, to gather up an edition already scattered among hundreds of individual purchasers, to harmonize vague and conflicting laws — all this was beyond the skill of any bureaucracy then or now. Theoretical severity and practical leniency could not be reconciled. The public never was in a mood to cooperate with the government, no more than the American public was in the enforcement of the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution and its concomitant Volstead Act.

LaHarpe, in 1783, saw the situation far more clearly than did most of his contemporaries. He said:

It is this arbitrary authority that has made the censoring of books a fruitless and vexatious inquisition both in principle and in results. Not only does a manuscript pass through the hands of several censors who are not obliged to defend their judgment but after being approved it is again handed over to anonymous censors and on their report a book is held up even after printing, at the risk of ruining

author or publisher, who after all have printed upon legal approval. Those who act thus would be of less consequence if they were masters of Europe as they are of France; but how can they forget that writers who are refused decent and honest liberty in Paris can, sixty or eighty leagues away, go to any license and exceed all limits just because no one has observed any restraint with them?

Notes

37. It is important to note the difference between the permit and the privilege. The permit gave assurance that the subject-matter of a book was acceptable to the censor; the privilege granted the publisher a limited monopoly on the sale of the book. Since the privilege could not be granted to a book that failed to receive a permit, the two terms soon became confused in ordinary practice.

38. Crévier, II, 284-288.

39. For copies of the earliest permits from the Parlement of Paris to print certain law books as well as the procedure in the case of incorrect printing, see Maugis, II, 311-314.

40. Peignot, p. 57.

41. This was repeated in the law of 29 April 1678; cf. Saugrain, p. 362.

42. As late as 1775 this was done in the case of Necker's *De la Législation et du commerce des grains*; cf. *Mémoires de l'abbé André Morellet*, ed. Joseph Victor Le Clerc, 2 vols. (Paris, 1821), I, 231.

43. Eugene Hatın, *Manuel théorique et pratique de la liberté de la presse*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1868.), I, 13.

44. The matter of imported books is discussed at length in Malesherbes, pp. 182-244.

45. Grimm remarked in 1749 that the prices of immoral books were never fixed; cf. *Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique* by [Frederic Melchior, Baron de] Grimm, [Denis] Diderot, Raynal, Meister, etc., ed. Maurice Tournoux, 16 vols. (Paris, 1877-1882), I, 256.

46. Matthieu Marais, *Journal et mémoires*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1863-1868), III, 181 ff.

47. Jules Andrieu, *La Censure et la police des livres en France sous l'ancien régime* (Paris, 1884), p. 14.

48. Sabatié, pp. 67-76.

49. *Journal et mémoires du Marquis d'Argenson*, ed. E. J. B. Rathery, 9 vols. (Paris, 1859-1867), VI, 119.

50. Jacob-Nicolas Moreau, *Mes Souvenirs*, ed. Camille Hermelin, 2 vols. (Paris, 1898-1901), I, 299-306, 327.

51. Emil Weller, *Die falschen und fingirten Druckorte*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1864).

52. Barbier, III, 396; I, 263, 374, 366-367.

53. Malesherbes, p. 116.

54. Belin, pp. 37-40; 50-53.

55. D'Argenson, VII, 86n.
56. Belin, pp. 115-118.
57. Arthur Stanley Pease, "Notes on Book-burning," in *Munera Studiosa*, ed. Massey Hamilton Shepherd, jr. and Sherman Elbridge Johnson (Cambridge, Mass., 1946), pp. 158-160.
58. Isambert, XXVIII, 648-650.
59. Since Peignot's lists cover Europe in general, our figures represent only the books published in France before 1792, omitting those that do not indicate date or place and disregarding the number of volumes in a work.
60. James A. Farrer, *Books Condemned to be Burned* (London, 1892), pp. 7-23.
61. Barbier, IV, 437.
62. Pierre Manuel, *La Police de Paris dévoilée*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1794), I, 35-37.
63. *Histoire de l'imprimerie*, I, 214, quoted by Pellisson, p. 24.
64. D'Argenson, VI, 10; VII, 468; Barbier, III, 116; Charles Nisard, *Mémoires et correspondances littéraires et historiques de Suard inédits* (Paris, 1858), p. 133.
65. D'Argenson, VI, 34.
66. D'Argenson, VIII, 3; Grimm, II, 254.
67. La Harpe, IV, 77.
68. Barbier, IV, 352; Morellet, I, 88.
69. Peignot, pp. 80-89.
70. Barbier, IV, 218, 237.
71. Phillipe Sagnac, *La Formation de la société française moderne*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1945-1946), II, 10-11.
72. Belin, pp. 21-24; Sabatié, 67-76.

Outline Illustration

By FRANK WEITENKAMPF

OUTLINE drawing, in which the symbolic nature of the line is so particularly evident, plays a dual role in art. It serves for summariness in an artist's sketches, and for direct definiteness when used for a finished conception. In the latter function of final expression, it may be traced from the time of prehistoric cave drawings: in Greek vases with their linear outline feeling in the figures; in Japanese prints with outline as a base for color; in prints such as Mary Cassatt's drypoints of babies; in illustration of five centuries of printing; and even in some old manuscripts, such as the Utrecht Psalter.

The record of book illustration offers a significant and varied use of outline, whether in its purity, or modified by indications of shadow or modeling, or other means, to clothe the spare lines with an appearance of completer effect. Early North European woodcuts in outline, meant to be colored, need not concern us. When in the later books of the fifteenth century cuts appeared in uncolored state, depending on the cut line for any suggestion of form or tone, there soon came some edging away from the absolute outline. Pretty examples are de Retza's *Defensorium Virginitatis Mariae* (1471), with its strangely nineteenth-century touch; the *Ars Moriendi* in its first edition; and Italian books such as Ketham's *Fascicolo de Medicina* (1493-4), in which the possible severity of outline is tempered by careful drawing of ornaments on costume. Such efforts to overcome the limitations of this form of drawing have continued ever since; on the whole, they are not extensive enough to impair essentially the clean-cut definiteness of the outline.

It is in Italian woodcut illustrations of the late fifteenth century that the first notable and continued use of the outline appears. Into them the spirit of the Renaissance put a sparseness of means, a touch of monumental simplicity. The term "statuesque" comes easily to the lips, for these cuts somehow suggest sculpture. A. M. Hind found classic rendering inspired by the influence of Mantegna in the illustrations of the Malermi Bible

(1490), that notable example of this school of illustration. In this and other books of the period, in which the cuts are small, lack of detail in modeling and shading is perhaps less apparent than in the larger illustrations in books such as Ketham's. Outline often appears in combination with solid blacks, a happy device which is again encountered late in the nineteenth century.

Meanwhile technique of fifteenth-century woodcutting, more particularly in the North, developed into an elaboration of detail. Still, Dürer, whose influence had so much to do with this systematized routine, turned to outline in his drawings of proportions of the human body in his *Underweysung der Messung* (1528). Similar use of the outline to present facts somewhat diagrammatically is seen in the drawings of military engines in Vulturio's *De Re Militari* (1472) and in Vojtech Preissig's pictures of the etcher's equipment in his *Barevny Lept* (1925). However, outline illustration went out pretty well after the technical and stylistic development in woodcutting and copper engraving. Especially in the North simplicity and directness gave way to elaboration of shading and modeling, and color suggestion in a mass of line-work. Finally in the nineteenth century "highly finished" came to be the greatest praise to bestow on steel engravings in books.

Yet in the nineteenth century, a period of great variety in technique, manner, and expression, outline was again employed in the sculptor John Flaxman's illustrations to the classics. So once more there was a connection with sculpture. Flaxman's original drawings, like those of Botticelli for Dante (photo-process reproductions published in Berlin, 1887), have a charm of sensitiveness, in the slightly quivering line, which is dulled by the tightly defined burin strokes of Piroli and other professional engravers. It is worth noting, however, that in the plates for Hesiod (1817) engraved by William Blake, the lines are fuzzy, with a dotted, slightly staccato, effect, giving more of the freeness of line than is furnished by the other engravers. The drawings as published generally have some slight hint of shading, by ungraded thickening of lines, with wavy horizontal lines giving supporting background to the figures. There is always the effort to get away from a possible bleakness, and still have the predominance of the outline.

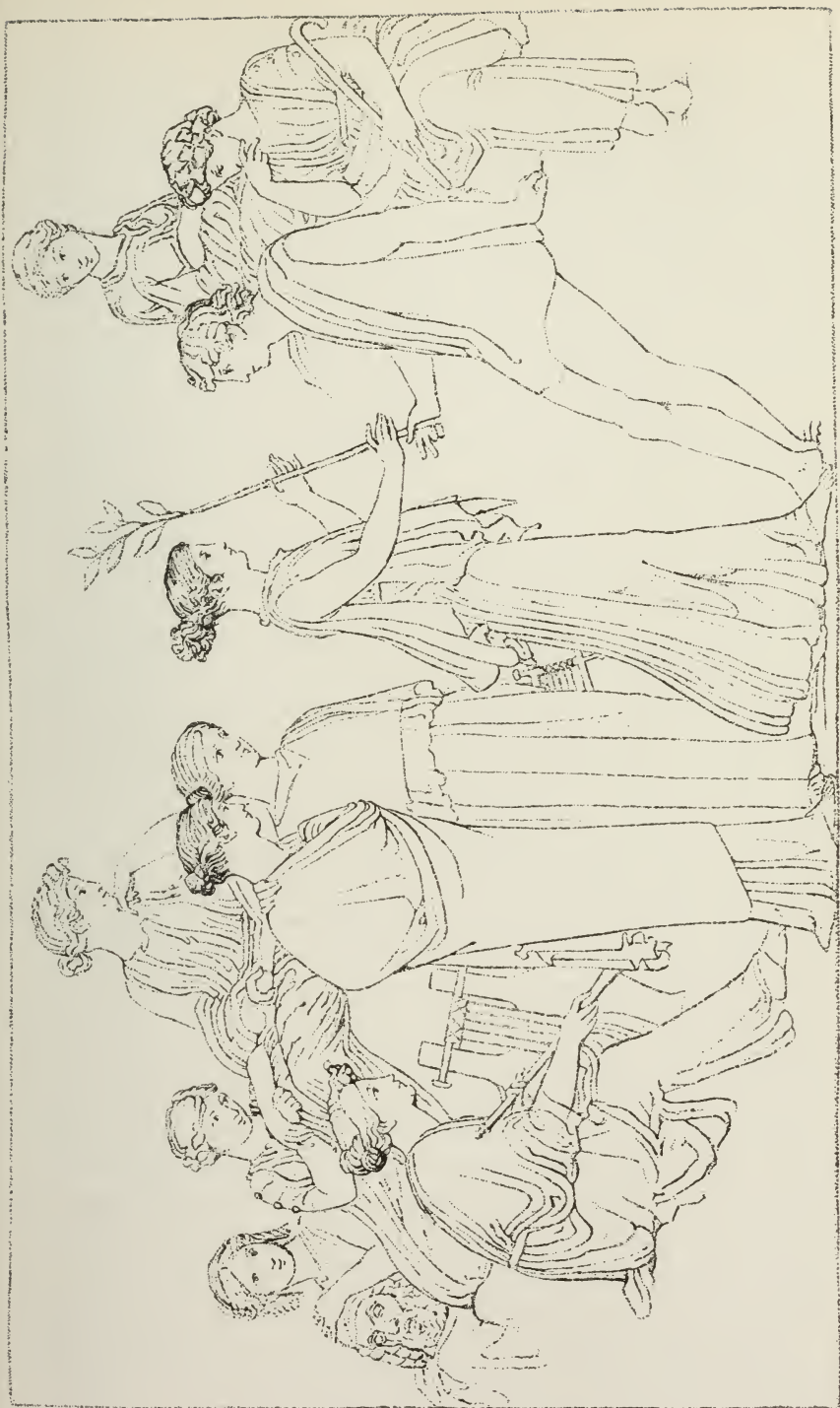
Flaxman's illustrations to Homer, Aeschylus, and Hesiod may strike one as of a somewhat sentimental classicism. Vigor and dramatic feeling seem hardly his forte, nor will refinement and elegance quite do for the graphic interpretation of these authors. Still, as E. P. Richardson says in *The Way of Western Art*, "Flaxman . . . founded a new style of black-and-white and helped greatly to spread the taste of classicism." And he established a relation between classic literature and outline illustration which has persisted to our day.

From the classic to the romantic the outline passes with Moritz Retzsch. He too gave suggestion of shadows by thickened lines, and sometimes doubled ones. He blithely illustrated Shakespeare and Goethe, both perhaps a bit beyond him. His drawings have more grace than force, and he attained well-tempered melodramatics rather than the truly dramatic. Goethe, Fanny Kemble, and George Eliot are among those who had their say about him; he evidently had a notable vogue.

Whether or not Retzsch's example led him to his excursions into this specialty, F. O. C. Darley went his own way, with more realism and vigor than had either Flaxman or Retzsch. He illustrated Irving's *Rip van Winkle* (1848) and *The Legend of Sleepy Hollow* (1849), and Sylvester Judd's *Margaret* (1856). The last is his best work in this realistic and dramatic technique. There is solidity and plasticity in his figures, whereas Retzsch and others did not get too far away from a two-dimensional aspect. In that direction Darley probably went as far as one can in outline, exemplifying its possibilities as well as its limitations. He used the wavy parallel lines employed by his predecessors to furnish background; he sometimes even put in slight indications of shadow. Such expedients were used also, with less force, by Darley's American contemporaries John W. Ehninger and Thomas F. Hoppin.

In the closing years of the past century — a time of much variety in illustration caused by widely differing viewpoints — the combination of outline with solid blacks, found in Italian fifteenth-century cuts, was again used, for instance by E. M. Lilien and Aubrey Beardsley, each working in his own spirit and with his own effects.

Personal use of outline appears in the work of Emile Ber-



"Hesiod and the Muses," Designed by John Flaxman and engraved by William Blake

nard, Carlègle, and other block-print artists, who were apt to use strong outlines backed by blacks. Loose wavy lines, often with black spotting, are found in the drawings of men so dissimilar in style as Toulouse-Lautrec, Raoul Dufy, and Bernard Naudin. There is a dazzling variety: often modified outline, sometimes near-outline (Forain), sometimes outline and finished details in the same design (Eric Gill, Arthur Rackham, John Austen), and sometimes the outline not drawn, not linear, but formed by surrounding blacks (Lawrence Chaves, Mahlon Blaine). But the feel of outline is always present.

In the present century there is again an interesting and stimulating variety, with a mingling of tradition and the modern spirit. Significant are the illustrated classics. Though quite different in style from the books of plates by Flaxman, they also use outline. Picasso, in revolt against established formulas, adjusted himself to the job in his illustrations for the *Lysistrata* of Aristophanes (Limited Editions Club, 1934). While his designs are much freer and looser than Flaxman's — offering indication, not precise statement — they still possess definiteness and in their way preserve the use of outline in the interpretation of the classic spirit. In an entirely different manner, the sculptor Aristide Maillol, in his woodblock prints for *Les Eglogues de Virgile* (1926), achieves by his flowing lines a freedom in strong contrast to Flaxman. He also offers an interesting example of the use of line-drawing in harmony with the type-page.

This quest may even be extended into the field of comic art. Outline, or the feel of it, is met in the work of Toepffer, Grevin, Caldecott, and others. There are Al Frueh's and Auerbach-Levy's portraits, Gluyas Williams's drawings, and Thurber's whimsical amateurishness — all different from the trend to completeness in pen-and-ink comics fifty years or more ago.

The combination of outline drawing with flat tints of color has also been accomplished with much diversity in style, as for example in Walter Dorwin Teague's drawings for *Nowel*, T. M. Cleland's for Fielding's *Jonathan*, and Ernest Fiene's sketches for Gavorse's *Story of Phaithon*. It must be remembered, however, that color is usually the dominant interest here.

That filled-in outline called silhouette may be traced back to Greek vase figures, and studied in the scissor-cut portraits with

which the term is particularly associated. But it has also served for illustrations in which artists such as Winslow Homer and Paul Konewka showed a range of possibilities.

The effective use of outline calls for exact knowledge which only a thorough study of form can give. The want of such disciplinary training shows up in sloppy drawing. The limitations of outline, especially when applied without added aids, have kept to a fairly small number the artists who really accomplished something worth while with it.

Etchings by Robert Fulton Logan

By ARTHUR W. HEINTZELMAN

A NOTABLE representative collection of etchings and drypoints by Robert Fulton Logan was an important acquisition by the Print Department last December. This splendid addition of prints, mostly of architectural subjects, represents the artist at his best. The group will be augmented in the near future to make his *oeuvre* in the Library's collection complete.

It is a great satisfaction to have Logan's name now appear beside those of other illustrious Bostonians who have been prominent in the field of graphic arts: Frank W. Benson, Charles H. Woodbury, and Frederick Garrison Hall, all fully represented in the Boston Public Library. One thinks of Logan as being from Boston as much of his development occurred here, and because of his long residence in this city.

Robert Fulton Logan was born in Manitoba, Canada, on March 25, 1889. He first studied art seriously at the School of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston under Frank W. Benson, Edmund C. Tarbell, Philip Hale, and Bela Pratt. He then went to the Chicago Art Institute. After completing his studies, he was elected in 1912 to the position of Director at the School of the Art Society of Hartford, where he remained for five years. In 1919 he was in France as Assistant Director at the Bellevue Art Training Center of the A.E.F. in the Atelier of Painting, and in 1922, lecturer in English at the Musée de Louvre. The following twelve years were devoted to travel and study in Europe to further develop and experiment in all branches of art — particularly painting, drawing, and the copper-plate mediums. While devoting his talent to portraits, figure, and landscape subjects with palette and brush, architecture absorbed his interest as material for his etching and drypoint needle. Prints published during this period appeared annually in the exhibitions by the Société Gravure Original en Noir and the Salon National des Beaux Arts, in which groups he held the honor of being a Sociétaire.

Logan's first exhibition was held at the American Chamber of Commerce in Paris in 1922. It created a very favorable impression in artistic circles, and did much to establish him among the most promising young etchers in France. Perhaps his most important exhibition was that held in the Galerie Marcel Guiot in Paris in 1927, when forty-five etchings and drawings were on view. Pierre Mille, prominent French critic, wrote the following concerning Logan's prints of cathedrals: "He evokes their splendors and their intimacies with as much feeling and care as the French etcher himself, the most inspired with the spirit of his art." And again: "He has been able to translate with great energy the glories which his eye has discerned, and he has made them great."

Now firmly established abroad, his prints may be found in the permanent collections of the British Museum; the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge University; the Musée du Luxembourg; the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris; Musée de Saint Denys; Musée de Blerancourt; and a number of provincial museums in France.

Logan's reputation preceded him on his return to the United States. In 1934 he was elected Chairman of the Department of Art at Connecticut College, New London. He has held this position with distinction to this day as an educator of international reputation. However, his creative work has continued to occupy much of his free time, keeping his talent alive. His retirement from Connecticut College has recently been announced, and one may now look forward to superior results from concentrated production.

In the month of May there will be in the Wiggin Gallery what may be considered an exhibition of his work in retrospect.

It is unnecessary to classify Logan's late and early efforts into categories of development. From the first experiments, his prints impart a mature knowledge of the difficult art of etching in all its phases: drawing, biting, and printing. These necessary qualities are merged with individuality into plates of unusual performance. His understanding of color and relative values conveys a thorough knowledge of painting as well as familiarity with sculpture. There is no preliminary or experimental uncertainty evidenced in his subject or material,



St. Nicolas du Chardonnet, Paris
An Etching by Robert Fulton Logan

for the handling of his needle and the possibilities of the copper-plate held few problems for his direct approach in firm, decisive, and heavily bitten line. He builds his architectural subjects with structural weight and texture, in unfaltering technique, to a point of subtle and creative attainment.

In analyzing his architectural plates, it is difficult to detect any influences, for early in his career Logan developed an individual style which concealed his debt, if any, to any individual artist or school. One constantly has the impression that his etched records are a tribute to the great architects who created these subjects, as if to divine the depth of the monument's immense and mysterious meaning. Much of these qualities are the results of disdaining laborious and tiresome tightness. He drew by suggestion, and saw architectural detail as part of the whole.

That Logan's etchings had a high purpose can easily be recognized through four states of his "Amiens Cathedral." There are no attempts to grasp results in chance phenomena; it was rather from a searching of his mind that the fundamental facts were formulated. Through these states he screens his subject, relieving it of all unnecessary detail, and leaving only the original conception, recorded step by step. One can see the successive states grow in significance, color, composition, and value relationships to an ultimate artistic achievement. In the published state one finds a statement depicting medieval France, and an expression in retrospect of remaining glory and history. Here Logan is architect, historian, and artist, who has rendered his subject with love and beauty.

The title "Madeleine Flower Market" is in itself an inspiration to the artist and to anyone who has been in Paris. To visit the Madeleine, surrounded by colorful stalls and picturesque types who busy themselves selling and caring for their plants and flowers, is a unique experience. One is reminded of Daumier and Gavarni, who in their lithographs depict the typical flower woman whose headdress, shoulder shawl, apron, and sabots have not varied over the years. All this portrayal of the Flower Market builds up to an atmospheric and artistic background for the fine plate of the stately Church of the Madeleine etched by Logan. Composition and perspective hold no diffi-

culties for him, and he keeps the beholder interested travelling along the rows of columns which play their important part in completing the all-over pattern of trees and distant buildings. Logan has made a beautiful plate of a subject that many artists would make appear commonplace.

"Pont Marie" in four states is an unusual composition of the famous old bridge, and it seems impossible that a more intimate picture of the bridge and group of houses could produce such artistic support. These roofs and medley of angles, with the late afternoon sun striking the central arch, serve to throw in relief the shadows of bridge and foreground, particularly the two-wheeled cart with its small horses silhouetted against the waters of the Seine. This composition stands forth as one in which Logan was concerned with a design of dignified, reposeful, and structural planning of masses of strong and delicate lines to capture his quest for unusual architectural arrangement.

The beauty of the drypoint "Notre Dame, the Sanctuary" lies in the fine play of light which irradiates the intervening planes and atmosphere, and in the deepest shadows one feels motion and air. The little kneeling figures are mere details in this fine composition, but they are important in giving scale to the print to mark successive planes and to indicate receding distances. There is interpretation of spirit with great feeling of symbolic truth. Logan has here produced a fine example in linear precision and massive dignity with his sensitive pictorial powers, rare mental conception, and artistic interpretation. In the printing, as is true in all Logan's plates, there are no happy accidents of inking; nor is *retroussage* or heavy tone allowed to interfere with the purity of line.

It is not possible to enumerate all the subjects included in this exhibition. Suffice it to say that all the prints are worthy of close study. However, it is necessary to name a few outstanding plates which stand high in Logan's *oeuvre*: "Grandes Ecuries, Chantilly," "Dijon Cathedral," "Maison de Hugues Aubriot, Dijon," all French subjects; and "Wrexham Tower" and "Harkness Memorial, Yale University," among the American prints.

Whether it be the theme of France or America, the most remarkable thing in Logan's work is the steady increase in the

power of thought that seems to inspire his etching needle. Spending some time with these prints, one seems to look past and beyond the possibilities which have not been brought to light in Logan's creative talent. His work assuredly puts forth a distinct and personal style, which augurs well for continual accomplishment in the future.

One may look forward to a series of plates bringing greater stature to his work, which, besides those represented in the permanent collections of England and France, may also be found in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, the New York Public Library, the Library of Congress, the National Gallery, the Smithsonian Institution, the Avery Memorial Art Museum, Hartford, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Boston Public Library, Brooklyn Museum, Lyman Allyn Art Museum, New London, and the Yale University Art Gallery.

The possibilities of Logan's future remain outside the scope of this article. However, this exhibition will attest to the fact that he is an etcher of unusual ability with inexhaustible ideas, with qualities that have not been fully tried.

Notes on Rare Books and Manuscripts

A Medieval Pilot-Book

MEDIEVAL cosmology, astrology, and geography are characteristically combined in *La Sfera* by Gregorio Dati (1363-1436). This Italian treatise in verse is of special interest to historians of science because of the nautical instruments mentioned in it and the maps that illustrate it. The Library has recently acquired a manuscript copy of the work. It is a folio of twenty leaves, in a fair clear script, ornamented only by the elongation of the consonants in the first lines of the stanzas. The colophon gives the name of the scribe and the date of his writing. "'Written at Pesaro by Gaspar de Fidelis, son of Antonio Fidelis," it states, "and completed on August 7, 1484, after the twenty-third hour had struck."

E. G. R. Taylor (in an appendix to a work published by the Hakluyt Society¹) complains that the copies of *La Sfera* that have survived are elaborately illustrated, prepared for presentation purposes, with the result that the maps and charts have lost in accuracy. Those in the Library's manuscript are drawn in ink on the margins of the text. They are indeed the most distinctive and valuable feature of the volume.

Gregorio Dati was a Florentine merchant and public official, a historian of his native city, who had also the reputation of a mathematician and astrologer. Among his writings was *Il Libro Segreto*, a "secret journal" which has been printed. Here he recorded mainly the financial concerns of his business and his domestic affairs — his four successive marriages and the births of his twenty or more children. In a matter of fact way, he enumerated also his election to many public offices: he was made *Console dell' Arte* for the eleventh time, he was a member of a municipal council of Pisa, he was *Gonfaloniere* (standard-bearer) of justice, and held various other positions of trust. More significant in relation to the Library's manuscript were his voyages, in the interest of his business, to Spain.

It should be noted that *La Sfera* has also been attributed to Gregorio's brother Leonardo, a Dominican who became the General of his Order in 1414. G. C. Galletti, editor of the text printed in 1863, leaves the question unsettled.²

1. *A brief Summe of Geographie* by Roger Barlow. Edited with an introduction and notes by E. G. R. Taylor. London, 1932, p. 184.

2. The Library of Congress enters *La sfera* under Leonardo Dati as supposed author, with the added entry of Gregorio Dati.

The poem *La Sfera* is in part a "rutter" or pilot-book, of the kind which developed from the simple charts used by seamen in the thirteenth century and perhaps earlier. N. A. E. Nordenskiöld, the Swedish explorer and authority on the history of navigation, thinks that the portolan atlases from the fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries represent only variations of the "normal" portolano. The forerunners of the latter, he writes, "consisted of rude drawings of certain often used fair-ways along the coasts and of the sailing-directions for skippers trading between the more important places on the coasts. No such works are now extant, but I believe that I have found some slightly altered copies of them among the marginal ornaments in some manuscripts of Leonardo [!] Dati's celebrated cosmographic poem *La sfera*."³

The poem takes its name from the first, the properly cosmographic part, which gives the mariner a general background of knowledge. It is written in *ottava rima*, which closes with a couplet. The first five stanzas are a dedication "to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit," and one cannot help remarking that they excel the others in lyric grace. Dati, the Florentine merchant, was a true Renaissance man for whom faith and poetry, science and sea-faring were not separate categories.

The exposition of the place of the terrestrial sphere in the cosmos begins with a mention of the pole-star, which navigators look for "when daylight fails." The author points out the north and the south poles, the equator, and the inhabited places "between this hot and the two cold zones." Of stars there is an infinite number, and each exerts its influence on human bodies. The signs of the zodiac are explained, then the "seven planets in seven spheres." The first of these is Saturn, the planet of the contemplatives who are chaste and astute of intellect. The second planet is Jove, "which moves in the sphere like clear crystal," and its influence imparts power and magnificence. Next is Mars whose followers naturally are ferocious —

"but if one wants to take the better part —
in virtue and in strength they have great art."⁴

Now follow seven stanzas of apotheosis to the sun, "more noble than any other star." While in modern times philosophical principles are sometimes explained by analogies from the physical world, in the fourteenth century the procedure was in reverse; thus one

3. N. A. E. Nordenskiöld, *Periplus*, Stockholm, 1897, p. 45 ff.

4. "Et se voglio pigliar la miglior parte
De virtu e de forzie hanno grande arte."

finds here the sun's radiation of both heat and light explained by analogy of the Trinity. Those human beings who are born under the influence of the sun are of great wisdom and goodness. The author characterizes Venus, Mercury, and the moon, and explains both solar and lunar eclipses. Beneath the sphere of the moon is that of fire, next come the air and water, and the earth, "a solid and heavy body," is in the middle of the whole system. This Ptolemaic summary has a medieval climax: "There is nothing beneath it except the inferno, the place of the damned." The diameter of this place is given as seven thousand, and the circumference as twenty-two thousand miles.

Numerous stanzas treat of physical geography — climate, the effect of marshy valleys and of mountains on health; of rain, snow, hail-storms, and the tides drawn by the moon. If the earth were like the water, the air, and the fire — that is, made of subtle non-resistant stuff — there would be no night in any part of the globe, "but the sun cannot pass through its hard bones." Following a charming description of the seasons is an explanation of the four elements, "which render the body ill or well according as they harmonize," and the four humors that mark human types.

There are eight winds "for navigating," which the author names. Then he calls attention to the map on which the winds, the ports, and all the sea are drawn. With this chart merchants and pirates travel by sea, the ones for gain, the others for rapine, and in a moment they may be rich or ruined. At this point occurs the mention of nautical instruments: "With the compass tempered by the star, the magnet toward the north," the mariner steers his course and, when he has deviated from it, rights the ship with the rudder. He lowers or raises the lateen-yard according to the wind, and when the wind changes, he has to be very alert, for suddenly there may be danger of death. An hour-glass⁵ shows how many hours the ship has gone with the wind. Great skill is required in entering a port, and inexperienced mariners may wreck their vessels.

The author explains the famous T chart, which appears as an illustration. "A T within an O shows how the world is divided into three parts." Asia occupies the upper half of the circle, and Europe and Africa the two sections of the lower half, with the Mediterranean between them. This circle, Dati writes, represents much less than half of the sphere, and all the rest is sea. Asia is the first

5. G. Libri, *Histoire des Sciences mathématiques*, II, 221, quotes the stanza here referred to with some variation from the Library's manuscript. The latter reads: "Bisogna luciolo (?) per mirare"; Libri quotes (also from manuscripts): "Bisogna l'orlogio . . ." Galletti's edition of 1863 reads "l'oriolo . . ."

part of the earth. Next Dati describes the courses of the Tigris and Euphrates and other rivers; he mentions the spices imported from India and Ethiopia to the West, the shipments of merchandise brought by caravans to Alexandria and Damascus, the latter being of a greater antiquity than any other city on earth. In some fifty stanzas he gives geographical information about the regions bordering on the Mediterranean and the cities of Asia Minor and Western Asia.

Boccaccio's *Genealogy of the Gods*, 1531

TWO centuries before the *Decameron* had become popular outside Italy, Boccaccio's *De Genealogia Deorum* was a familiar and valued possession of scholars throughout Europe. This cyclopedia of the Greek and Roman gods, written in Latin, was an enormous undertaking, to which Boccaccio gave much of the last twenty-five years of his life. For his material he searched among neglected manuscripts, many of which he rescued from dust — and the makers of amulets. His pages abound with the names of authorities: Virgil, Ovid, Pliny, Macrobius, Augustine, and Boethius, a host of poets and scholars, both ancient and medieval.

The first printed edition of the *Genealogia* was published in 1472 in Venice by Wendelin Speier, and before the end of the fifteenth century four other complete editions were issued. The Library has a copy of the last of these, printed in Venice in 1497. A folio bound in plain parchment and printed in full lines of Roman type, the volume also contains various other Latin books by Boccaccio: *De Montibus*, *De Silvis* and *De Fluminibus*. It is illustrated with thirteen full-page woodcuts of genealogical trees.

The first French translation of the work — *La Généalogie des Dieux* — has been attributed to Laurent de Premierfait, secretary to Jean, Duc de Berry, who had translated the *Decameron* and other of Boccaccio's writings. It was published by Antoine Vérard in Paris in 1498. The preface and the last two books, containing Boccaccio's famous defense of poetry, are not included. And in place of the family trees of the gods, are thirteen full-page woodcuts and twenty-four smaller ones. The large woodcuts represent mythological scenes; the smaller woodcuts, which occupy about one-third of a column, depict the gods and their attributes. Several of the larger woodcuts appeared previously in *Le Grand Boèce*, also published by Vérard; the smaller woodcuts were mostly designed for the translation. A new edition was issued in 1531 in Paris by

Jehan Petit. Like the first, it is a folio of 234 leaves printed in double columns, with bâtarde types, and it contains the same woodcuts. The Library has recently acquired a fine copy in the original binding.

Boccaccio entered the diplomatic service of the Republic of Florence in 1350, and the same year, at the request of King Hugo of Cyprus and Jerusalem, he started to work on this first systematic compilation of the classical legends. "I will find and gather," he wrote in the preface, "like the fragments of a mighty wreck strewn on some vast shore, the relics of the Gentile gods." Lest his venture be questioned, he maintained that the time had come when the pantheism of the ancients might be studied "almost without danger" to Christian faith. Further, he proposed to reveal the "secular wisdom" hidden in the magnificent art of the Greek and Roman poets. If he was to be a defender of pagan knowledge, he was also to defend the study of the liberal arts and poetry, which constituted for him the most valuable kind of knowledge.

He attacked four groups of opponents: materialistic men who ignore art and ideas; those who merely collect scraps of information at second hand; learned and talented men who consider poetry decorative, but unessential; and finally, those whose ambitions lead them to use knowledge only for private gain. This impassioned statement of humanism must have been known to Sir Philip Sidney before he wrote his *Apologie for Poetrie*.

As a voyager of the universe of the ancients, Boccaccio described first the gods of the underworld, beginning with Demogorgon, whom he assigned to be father of the gods. Then, devoting two or three books to each of the greater gods, he proceeded to Caelum, Oceanus, and Jupiter, with all their descendants.

In his handling of the myths, Boccaccio was hardly scientific. "It is my plan of interpretation," he stated, "first to write what I learn from the ancients; and when they fail me or I find them inexplicit, to set down my own opinion." Clearly for him, the mythical information was interesting for its symbolic or allegorical meaning, and he was not reticent in forming his own conclusions. Yet he wrote with a deep awareness of the difficulty of knowing a past civilization. "Who can bring to light and life again minds long since removed in death?" he asked.

If the details of a legend were too improbable, Boccaccio called them figurative. After telling the story of Leda, he explained that Jupiter's transformation into the swan simply meant that the god sang beautifully. Or another myth might suggest moral allegory. Pasiphae, daughter of the sun, was married to the lawgiver, King

Minos, as the soul is joined to human reason. The Minotaur to whom she gave birth, however, represented bestiality. Frequently Boccaccio attempted to present the fabulous in natural terms. Following his account of the labors of Hercules, he made a study of the etymology of the name, which meant "glorious in war," "laborer in the earth," and "renowned among valiant men." So it was likely that Hercules was not actually Jupiter's son, but Amphitrion's. And it was a human king, rather than Juno, who imposed upon him the arduous trials before receiving him into court. If these speculations appear unsophisticated, one should remember that we understand little more about myth today.

The most interesting, and the most charming, feature of the volume is its woodcuts. The large ones are done in strong lines, with simple shading and a good sense of perspective. Characteristic products of the incipient French Renaissance, they have a clear simplicity — very different in feeling from the Germanic woodcuts of the religious works published by Vérard. In one, Paris is bearing Helen away from the Argives, who stand in conference at one side of the picture, while a ship waits in the background, ready to sail for Troy. In another, Cadmus is beheading a dragon; a third shows Orpheus dying, his lyre on the ground beside him. Still other subjects are: Pluto watching from an upper window while Proserpine is being led from the underworld; the Trojan War, a splendid, turbulent battle scene; and so on.

Only a few of the small cuts can be mentioned here: there is one representing Love, the first son of Erebus, a young man with long bow and lyre, standing on the back of a three-headed Dragon; Minerva watching an armorer forge her weapons; Victory riding in a cart drawn by a lion; Cupid, accompanied by an army of knights; and Lucifer, son of Jupiter and Aurora, with his dog beside him, a great star burning over his head.

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EDITOR: ZOLTAN HARASZTI

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JULY 1954

James P. Walker & Horace B. Fuller:
Transcendental Publishers

By MADELEINE B. STERN

BOTH James P. Walker and Horace B. Fuller, Boston publishers whose careers paralleled each other and for a time coincided, failed in business. Yet the imprints of both men illumine the period in which they lived — that time of plain living and high thinking when New England still flowered. For that reason, having enjoyed a kind of success in failure, they deserve a memorial in the annals of publishing history.

On a winter day before the turn of the century, Horace B. Fuller died by his own hand in a Boston boarding house. A man in his early sixties, he had for the last fifteen or twenty years led a precarious existence, "earning a scant living by peddling books." The boarding house was located at 29 Pinckney Street. The date was January 12, 1899.¹

Little was known at the time, and little is known today of his private life. Though he had committed suicide, a despairing failure, Horace B. Fuller had in his prime made a notable contribution to Boston's publishing history. Even in his heyday he could not vie with the larger houses of Roberts Brothers or Lee and Shepard; yet, as a publisher, his activity was far from negligible. Indeed, by reason of a smaller output, a lesser publisher frequently casts a keener light upon the specific interests of his age than the larger publisher whose comprehensive lists

reflect everything in general but nothing in particular. Fuller's own imprints reflected both the tastes of New England children and the interests of the later Transcendentalists. What is more, his chequered career illumines the story of other Boston publishing houses. For these reasons his career merits recording. Though no monument of any type has been erected above his grave at Mount Auburn Cemetery, he is entitled to a niche among the lesser Boston publishers whose brief careers and limited output throw light upon certain aspects of the age they lived in.

On that street of publishers, Boston's Washington Street, where Little, Brown, and Gould and Lincoln, and Crosby, Nichols plied a vigorous trade, the firm of Hickling, Swan and Brown occupied number 131 on the westerly side of the street, over the Old Corner Bookstore, and just below the corner of School Street. The firm was one of the oldest in the city, having been founded in 1792 by John West.² Reorganized by W. H. Jenks as Jenks, Hickling and Swan, it had been succeeded by the present owners by the year 1856, when a twenty-year-old gentleman named Horace B. Fuller embarked upon his clerkship there. For seven years he continued his "apprenticeship," daily entering number 131, opposite the firm of James Munroe and close to Ticknor and Fields. During those years, Hickling, Swan and Brown sustained many changes in style, their signboard appearing as Hickling, Swan and Brewer; Swan, Brewer and Tileston; and finally as Brewer and Tileston. The name of Fuller was conspicuous by its absence. Horace B. Fuller never attained a partnership, though he did profit from his experience with the company. Famed on two counts — as publishers of Worcester's Dictionaries and as the oldest and most extensive schoolbook publishers in New England — the house over the Old Corner had an enviable reputation, and young Mr. Fuller must have learned much, during his association with the firm, of the type of book that would appeal to a juvenile reader in Boston after the mid-century. While he never was to use his experience with Worcester's Dictionaries after he set up for himself, nor to continue in the textbook field, nevertheless his knowledge of youthful literary appetites would serve him well in the future.

In 1864, William D. Swan, who had conscientiously replied to the attack of Messrs. Merriam upon the character and Dictionaries of Dr. Worcester, died.³ If Fuller had waited a little longer, he might perhaps have become a partner in the firm, and his career would have been quite different. Instead, in 1864 he joined a younger firm on the same street and began the association that was to influence his publishing career for nearly a decade.

Years before, when Fuller was still clerking at 131 Washington Street, James P. Walker, a slender, delicate gentleman in his late twenties,⁴ who had already had a varied though unsuccessful career in the book business, talked with a Boston friend at tea and hatched a plan for a publishing house that would be connected with the American Unitarian Association. On December 23, 1858, he wrote the following letter, outlining his project:

What is wanted is an *Unitarian Association Bookstore*, where not only such books as the Association publish may be found, but all Unitarian books, and these especially and primarily. Then a miscellaneous book and stationery business may, and should, be added thereto Let the present copyrights, stereotypes, and printed stock be turned over to an agent, and a sum of say \$3,000 for working capital, and, after a year, the store would take care of itself; *i.e.*, pay the agent, furnish rooms for the meetings of the clergy, print and circulate Unitarian books at a low rate, besides being a depot and headquarters for the denomination, and an actual power for the promulgation of liberal Christianity.⁵

On May 2, 1859, the plan was realized, James P. Walker and Daniel W. Wise organizing the firm of Walker, Wise and Company at 21 Bromfield Street in the rooms of the American Unitarian Association. Unitarianism at the time was a far cry from a narrow denominational creed. The spur to Transcendentalism in New England, it had become the catch-all for a variety of liberal and humanitarian beliefs that would in time range from abolitionism to woman's rights. Though Walker, Wise may have set up business as handmaids to Unitarianism, they would progress as liberal Christianity progressed, becoming in their own right publishers of tracts on anti-slavery, transcendental reflections, the advancement of women, and especially of works designed to open the eyes and ears of the young. It was this firm which

in 1864 attracted Horace B. Fuller, who, weary perhaps of dictionaries and textbooks, turned to the progressive and forthright publishers, Walker, Wise, who had set up their stand at 245 Washington Street, sandwiched between a trimmings store and a "hair jeweller" and opposite the drygoods firm of Jordan Marsh.

Henry May Bond, a relative of Louisa May Alcott, after serving as salesman for the firm, had been admitted to partnership. By 1863, Bond had joined the Cadets and was off to the War.⁶ There was an opening at Walker, Wise which Horace B. Fuller filled in good time. When, in 1864, at the age of twenty-eight, he entered their employ, Fuller found, in the same building with the publishers, the American Unitarian Association, the *Christian Examiner*, and the Sunday School Society. The Walker, Wise imprints⁷ naturally reflected, though they were not limited by, this close association.

It pleased James P. Walker to present under his imprint a new volume by so liberal a Unitarian as James Freeman Clarke, or a collection of *Stories from the Patriarchs* by Octavius B. Frothingham. Frederic Henry Hedge's *Reason in Religion*, Theodore Parker's *Prayers*, and Channing's *Works* represented the Unitarian credo, but went beyond it, too, reflecting the larger philosophy of the day which flourished under the name of Transcendentalism. Walker, as the new employee soon discovered, was a great admirer of Emerson, whom he read along with his Thomas à Kempis and Fénelon. Perhaps, in the weighty abstractions of transcendental thought, he found solace for a career that had been — like Bronson Alcott's — one of success in failure.

It was a career which Horace Fuller's would one day parallel. Walker, born in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in 1829, had earned his first money by driving cows to pasture. At the age of twelve he had left school and served an apprenticeship in a bookstore, opening the premises early in the morning, fetching keys and account books, making and selling ink. Four years later he had left Portsmouth to seek his fortune in Boston. After a term with Little, Brown, he had opened a store in Lowell, but trade "fluctuated," and, closing out the Lowell store, he had gone on to Albany to assist the law-bookseller, W. C. Little. The Albany enterprise proved a "disappointment." It

was followed by another "disappointment" in Mansfield, Ohio, and yet by another period of employment with Leavitt and Allen of New York, whose retail department Walker had supervised. Certainly, though his experience had been unsuccessful, it had been varied, and Horace Fuller heard with interest the story of Walker's wanderings as his slender, delicate-looking employer, with a mass of chestnut hair and grayish hazel eyes, told in a serious, self-conscious manner, marked with weariness and lassitude, the tale of so many failures.⁸ He seemed at last to have wrested triumph from defeat, for, by 1864, Walker, Wise and Company had developed from an agency for Sunday School books into a firm whose imprints were as varied as they were significant.

Having arranged with the American Unitarian Association to assume the publishing department of their business, Walker, Wise offered a Theological Library⁹ of "stereotyped" works in "a neat and attractive style," including James Martineau's *Studies of Christianity*, Andrews Norton's *Statement* against the Trinitarians, John Wilson's confirmation of *Unitarian Principles*, along with treatises on Athanasia and Regeneration. In addition, they kept a full stock of Unitarian books, which they supplied by mail order, and, having bought or leased the plates of the majority of denominational books in print, they could present in their catalogue the largest selection of Unitarian literature ever grouped under one imprint. The "eminent Unitarian divines" who visited the Association in the rear of 245 Washington Street, would find, in the front part of the building, their own works for sale. Clarke and Hedge and Alger, browsing through the stock, would note not only the Sunday School manuals and hymn books and liturgies, but works by Dr. Orville Dewey and Dr. Furness, Ephraim Peabody and Cyrus Bartol, at prices agreeably ranging from sixteen cents to four dollars.

They could note other works as well, for while Walker, Wise served the American Unitarian Association with one hand, they served all of progressive New England with the other.

After his stay in the West, James P. Walker had returned to Boston more and more alive to the importance of providing

women with the means for earning their own support and of advancing their general welfare. His deep sympathy with the cause of women's rights was evinced by his publication of such works as Mrs. Caroline H. Dall's *Woman's Rights under the Law*, Dr. Zakrzewska's *Practical Illustration of Woman's Right to Labor*, and Virginia Penny's *Employments of Women*. Boston's "strong-minded" women could find in the rooms of Walker, Wise and Company almost as much food for thought as the "eminent Unitarian divines."

BY the year of Fuller's entry into the firm, the Civil War had given the partners an equally glorious and timely cause to champion, and Walker, Wise entered the lists on the side of abolition as they sponsored such works as Hosmer's *Color Guard*, Hepworth's *The Whip, Hoc, and Sword* on paid plantation labor, and a *Life-Sketch* of Chaplain Fuller, brother of the illustrious Margaret. All three authors were clergymen, but, like their publishers, their interests had developed beyond the confines of denominationalism to the larger aspects of world history and struggle. Styled as their Popular War Series, the volumes sold at \$1.50 each, and formed "a three-sided presentation of the new experience which the Rebellion has afforded."¹⁰ To their Civil War imprints, the company added Cochin's well-known works on *The Results of Slavery* and *The Results of Emancipation*, along with Moncure Conway's *Rejected Stone; or, Insurrection vs. Resurrection in America*. To Wendell Phillips' *Speeches, Lectures, and Letters* the publisher prefaced an advertisement, formulating his far-sighted policy in respect to the Rebellion:

The only liberty the Publisher has taken with the materials has been to reinsert the expressions of approbation and disapprobation on the part of the audience, . . . and to add one or two notes from the newspapers of the day. This was done because they were deemed a part of the antislavery history of the times, and interesting, therefore, to every one who shall read this book, — not only now, but when, its temporary purpose having been accomplished by the triumph of the principles it advocates, it shall be studied as an American classic, and as a worthy memorial of one of the ablest and purest patriots of New England.¹¹

Children could be encouraged in their patriotism also, and

Horace Fuller noted with interest the manner in which Walker and Wise appealed to the youth of New England in the books they published as well as in those they sold. The Walker, Wise imprints were a far cry from the Hickling, Swan and Brewer textbooks, but both taught him how to capture and retain the attention of Boston children. A *Youth's History of the Rebellion* by William M. Thayer, along with the four-volume Union Series formed timely juveniles, while, among the books sold by Walker, Wise for Sabbath School Libraries, they tucked in the *Child's Anti-Slavery Book*, suggesting only, "Let it be read."¹² In a charming catalogue, profusely illustrated with cuts that some Boston child probably filled in with water colors, the firm advertised its *Standard Books for the Young Published by Walker, Wise, & Co.*¹³ *Spectacles for Young Eyes*, with forty woodcuts, neatly bound in bright-colored cloth, made an immediate appeal at sixty cents a copy, while All The Children's Library offered such attractive titles as *Noisy Herbert* and *Bessie Grant's Treasure*, books priced at fifty cents, whose morals were made alluring by being presented in great primer type with copious illustrations. All The Children's Library, according to the publishers, was an "entirely new and original series of Juveniles," since, besides being printed on fine paper from clear and handsome type, attractively illustrated and neatly bound in muslin and put up in pasteboard boxes, the books were graded according to the age and reading ability of the children. The Silver Penny Series, at twenty-five cents a volume, met the "demand for good but cheap juveniles," with its *Story of the Princess Narina* and *Nobody's Child*. Then there was the Pioneer Boy Series, including *The Pioneer Boy*,¹⁴ *The Ferry Boy*, and *The Farmer Boy*, along with Home Story Books "of character and intelligent design, not mere patched up collections." The children of Boston must have been lured from play as easily as the clergymen from their pulpits to browse at 245 Washington Street, and Horace Fuller must have imbibed, during his year or two with Walker, Wise and Company, as much experience in making transcendental and humanitarian beliefs attractive as in appealing to the little humanitarians of the future. He was soon to put the knowledge to use in his own right.

Two significant undertakings of general interest, which were

launched by Walker, Wise, but continued by their successors, engrossed the firm during Horace Fuller's association with them. Of Henri Martin's *History of France*, translated into English by Mary L. Booth with the help of George Bancroft and sold exclusively by subscription, seventeen "elegant octavo volumes" were planned, but only two were published. Seventy-five copies of a large paper edition were printed, and seem to have had a ready sale. Because of what the publishers called its "most immediate interest," they began the set with *The Age of Louis XIV.*¹⁵ Walker's awareness of the value of "immediate interest" is indicated also by his second major enterprise, the launching of Harriet Martineau's *History of the Peace*.

Previous to undertaking the publication of the "History of the Peace," we wrote to Miss Martineau soliciting from her pen a Preface for this edition.

She responded with promptness, not only supplying the desired Preface, and making sundry corrections in the text of the work, but proposing to write, Expressly For This Edition, An Entire New Book, continuing the History of the Peace down to the Russian War in 1854 . . . This offer we gladly accepted. The present publication has, consequently, a value and completeness largely in advance of the English edition.

The reproduction of this work may be regarded as peculiarly opportune at the Crisis through which this Nation is now passing. Our people are studying anew . . . questions connected with an Extension of the Suffrage; the Emancipation of the Blacks; a Paper Currency; the Removal of Restrictions on Trade; the Increase of Taxation and of the National Debt.¹⁶

The first two volumes of this set bear the imprint of Walker, Wise, and Company. By the time the third and fourth volumes were ready for the press, the imprint of the firm had undergone a metamorphosis.

In February 1865, Daniel Wise left the company, and from that date to the time of its failure in the autumn of 1866, the style of the house was Walker, Fuller, and Company. Horace B. Fuller, at the age of twenty-nine, had at last come into his own with a full partnership. During the brief period of their association as Walker, Fuller, the publishers continued along the lines laid down by Walker, Wise,¹⁷ issuing from 245 Washington Street not only Martin's *History of France* and Miss Martineau's *History of the Peace*, but many of the Civil War works

that had appeared under the earlier imprint. Hosmer's *Color Guard*, Hepworth's *The Whip, Hoc, and Sword*, and Chaplain Fuller's *Life-Sketch* were grouped together as The Patriot's Library, and to them was added another volume by Hosmer, entitled *The Thinking Bayonet*. The volumes by Cochin and Wendell Phillips were augmented now by a history of *Massachusetts in the Rebellion*,¹⁸ sold by subscription, along with Lincoln's *Second Inaugural*, Hale's *Sermons of a War*, and other works of immediate interest in the national crisis.

Walker, Fuller's insistence upon continuing Thayer's *Youth's History of the Rebellion* among its juveniles incurred the wrath of the *American Literary Gazette*, where it was asserted:

We trust this sort of books [sic] will now come to an end. War is bad enough at the best, but to have it served up to us in a perverted partisan story-telling and sensational style, and thrust in our faces in the nursery and at the fireside, all for the good of small writers, speculating publishers, and insidious propagandists, is adding to it an additional and more protracted terror.¹⁹

When Walker, Fuller objected, the *American Literary Gazette* retreated a bit:

The publishers . . . are displeased with our observations, and they have written to us a note in which they speak of us as being "unjust," and construe our language as an "offensive allusion" to their firm. These gentlemen wholly misunderstand both our object and what we expressly said. We should extremely regret to be "unjust" or to make an "offensive allusion" to a house of such recognized character and energy in the trade, and deserving of such success as that of Walker, Fuller & Co. We simply referred to a general class of recent juvenile literature . . . without . . . particularizing the work . . . or its publishers.²⁰

Despite such trials, the Walker, Fuller juveniles fared well. Miss Lander's Spectacle Series, "detailing . . . life in some of the chief cities of the world," had by 1866 reached a sale of "some 30,000 volumes." Nearly as many copies had been sold of the juvenile biography of Lincoln, *The Pioneer Boy*, and 10,000 copies of Chief-Justice Chase's early life, *The Ferry Boy*.²¹

In their larger interests, Walker, Fuller did not forget that they had begun as Unitarian publishers. In this field, also, they continued publishing the works originally offered by Walker, Wise, broadening a list that included *The Christian Examiner*

and the treatises of Hedge and Clarke by sponsoring Wasson's *Radical Creed*.

For all their efforts, however, Walker and Fuller were not destined for success. Early in 1866, the American Unitarian Association decided to do its own publishing, arranging that Walker, Fuller of Boston and James Miller of New York become the selling agents of the Association and attend to the retailing of its publications.²² By the same arrangement, *The Christian Examiner* was transferred to New York, and a great number of works were withdrawn from the Walker, Fuller list. For its own enterprise of denominational publishing, the American Unitarian Association collected \$100,000, a sum of money that Walker, Fuller could have used to full advantage. As it was, the firm was left in the subordinate position of acting as selling agents where once they had been publishers. Without more solid support from the Association that had once taken them under its wing, they apparently could not continue. After a few months, Walker, Fuller failed, and the partners separated.

Walker analyzed his own part in the failure when he wrote: "I am not a trader, and never was. I hate bargaining, and lack about as many qualifications for success in business as I possess, unless I could be associated with some one who would complement my qualities."²³ He obviously had not found such a "complement" in Horace B. Fuller. In addition to a personal lack of bargaining ability, and the withdrawal of substantial support by the American Unitarian Association, other factors had been involved in the failure of Walker, Fuller, including "want of capital" adequate to meet unforeseen emergencies, and the "general commercial stagnation" occasioned by the War. The enterprise had failed. Yet Walker's remarks, delivered long before in a lecture, still held:

Though fortune may frown upon our endeavors, and the position of the prosperous business-man be not our lot, if possessing the unfailing resource of an elevated taste, a cultivated intellect, and a well-stored mind, we shall never despair. We may not become successful merchants: we can become successful men.²⁴

In the longer historical view, they had both been successful publishers, despite their failure in business, for they had reflected and advanced the timely interests of an age that had

taken up many great challenges, from anti-slavery to liberal Christianity, from the advancement of women to the enlightenment of children.

Walker moved, after the failure, to 26 Chauncy Street, where, as secretary of the Sunday School Society, he kept for sale samples of Sunday School equipment: Scriptural mottoes, textbooks, and hymn cards, and also served as editor of the *Sunday-school Gazette*. On March 15, 1868, at the age of thirty-nine, he died — a man who, even in the eyes of his contemporaries, presented “a noble illustration of success in non-success.”²⁵

WHILE Walker had been sorting Sunday School mottoes in his pleasant room on Chauncy Street, Horace B. Fuller had become a publisher in his own right. At first continuing at 245 Washington Street, then moving to number 383, a few doors south of the Adams House, and finally establishing himself at 14 Bromfield Street, Horace B. Fuller, “successor to Walker, Fuller and Company,” was on his own. For the next five or six years, between 1867 and 1873, he would serve both juvenile and later transcendental Boston well, proving that even a minor publisher may make a memorable mark in his trade and that failure and success are often two sides to a single coin.

Like Washington Street, Bromfield Street, a few doors away, was a publishers' row during the 1860's, where Nichols and Hall, Virtue and Yorston plied their trade. At number 14, opposite the antiquarian dealer, S. G. Drake, and in the same building with the temperance publisher, Samuel W. Hodges, Horace B. Fuller set up his stand. Besides his experience with James P. Walker, he had inherited some of the Walker imprints,²⁶ including a few theological items by Frothingham and a few juveniles by William M. Thayer and Dr. Harley. Fuller's theological interests were, however, less pronounced and less denominational than Walker's had been. In that field he concentrated upon publishing the works of Theodore Parker, which he printed from the old stereotype plates, but “on better paper and in better style than before.” To the many volumes by the great Unitarian preacher that appeared under his imprint, Fuller added the writings of another eminent Massachusettsian,

the educator Horace Mann, proving by his presentation of the works of those two great figures that, in its broader ramifications, Transcendentalism in the church and in the school still flourished.

It was the children of Massachusetts who interested Horace B. Fuller primarily. It was for them that he issued in 1867 his Morning Glory Series, consisting of four volumes of juveniles by Auerbach and Miss Lander, Mrs. Follen and Louisa May Alcott.²⁷ It was for them that he published two stories by Mrs. Mary G. Darling, *Battles at Home* and *In the World*, and it was for them that he undertook his major juvenile enterprise, that of publishing *Merry's Museum*.

Merry's Museum,²⁸ established in 1841 by "Peter Parley," was, in 1867, the oldest magazine for boys and girls. In October of 1867, Fuller announced that he had purchased the periodical and would issue it "in a superior style."

This number of the Museum goes to subscribers with a change of publisher. . . . Mr. Fuller, the present publisher, has the ability and advantages (in connection with a large bookstore and acquaintances) to make the Magazine better than it ever has been Several important changes are contemplated in the management of Merry's Museum The Museum is the oldest magazine for young people published in America; it will be our aim to make it the best.²⁹

It would sell for \$1.50 a year or fifteen cents a number. Club rates were offered. In November, Fuller outlined his plans in greater detail. The *Museum* would be "clearly printed, on fine white paper, from new and handsome paper prepared expressly for our own use." The new volume would be "beautifully illustrated with original designs," and for its contributions the services of "some of the best and most popular writers for the young" had been engaged. One thousand canvassers were wanted to obtain subscriptions.³⁰ The following month, Fuller continued his advertising campaign by promising that with the January number, *Merry's Museum* would appear "ENLARGED, IMPROVED, & REJUVENATED," and that "Louisa M. Alcott, the brilliant author of 'Hospital Sketches,' — who has hardly an equal, and who has no superior as a writer for youth in the country,"³¹ had been engaged as editor.

In January 1868, with a new series number and a cover de-

sign executed by Miss E. B. Greene, *Merry's Museum* made its bow to the public under the new proprietorship. The issue included two stories by Miss Alcott, "Tilly's Christmas" and "Grandmother's Specs," as well as two poems by the editor, installments of the serials, "Little Pearl" and "The Loggers," adventures and articles adorned with Miss Greene's illustrations, and educational bits of information, acrostics and rebuses under the titles of "Aunt Sue's Scrap-Bag" and "Aunt Sue's Puzzle Drawer." To this pleasant medley was added an editorial section called "Merry's Monthly Chat with His Friends," where Miss Alcott, disguised as "Cousin Tribulation," contributed an episode that was later to appear in her *Little Women*.³² With premiums for those who secured new subscribers, and advertisements of Turner's Tic Douloureux, or Universal Neuralgia Pill, the issue was complete.

For her services, the editor received \$500 a year,³³ along with the appreciation of a publisher who could declare that "A young-folks Magazine is nothing, if not lively; and we have in our editor, Louisa M. Alcott, one of the most charming and brilliant writers for young people that our country has hitherto produced."³⁴ Besides fulfilling his aim of making the *Museum* "sprightly and entertaining; and, at the same time, to preserve in all its lessons a healthful moral tone,"³⁵ the publisher enjoyed the satisfaction of increasing his juvenile clientele and of using his periodical as an advertising medium for his own publications, especially those designed for the young. Special premiums for new subscribers frequently included old Walker, Wise imprints, and *Merry's Museum*, filled with "pleasant pictures and good stories," continued for several years to whet children's appetites for Alcott narratives and Aunt Sue's puzzles, educational serials and animal tales.

In time, Miss Alcott came to feel that her industry was not adequately rewarded, writing to her uncle:

Merry is not what I wish it was, but little Fuller does his best on a small capital & hopes to improve. If you know of any one who wields a sprightly & sensible pen pray ask them to drop us a line now & then, for Fuller mildly suggests that I should write the whole magazine, which was not in the bargain.³⁶

Nor was it "in the bargain" for Fuller to publish, unbeknownst

to the author, a book by Miss Alcott which had appeared serially in the pages of his *Museum*. He did so, nonetheless, adding a curious and not altogether savory episode to his career as juvenile publisher.

In 1870, while the *Museum* still flourished, Horace B. Fuller lent his imprint to what he called the Dirigo Series,³⁷ consisting of four anonymous volumes which had appeared serially in his magazine: *The Loggers; or, Six Months in the Forests of Maine*; *Will's Wonder Book*, actually by Louisa May Alcott; *Mink Curtiss; or, Life in the Backwoods* (supposed author, Emerson Bennett), and *Famous Dogs* (by M. G. Sleeper). Issued in green cloth, with green and gilt lettering, and announced as encased in a "neat box," the series was priced at \$1 a volume and, with frontispieces and illustrations, the books form charming examples of nineteenth-century juveniles at their best. The Series, however, was unauthorized, and indicates the publishing tactics of a period when authors' rights came far behind the rights of freedmen and the rights of women in the humanitarian hierarchy.

In November 1872, the last number of *Merry's Museum* was presented to the public, after which date it was merged into *The Youth's Companion*. In the same month, the Boston fire "exercised a very depressing effect on the book-business."³⁸ Horace B. Fuller's days as a publisher were numbered. One of his last imprints, issued in 1873, was a work by Daudet, appropriately entitled *The New Don Quixote*.

The remaining years of Horace B. Fuller were to parallel the early years of his one-time partner, James P. Walker. By 1877 he was back where he had started, a clerk once more, working for the bookseller, William B. Clarke.³⁹ Two years later he served as salesman for Albert W. Lovering — a poor choice for a man on the downward path, since Lovering, the "gift-bookseller of Boston," had failed in 1876 and again in 1879.⁴⁰ In order to dispose of a heavy stock of books, Lovering had devised the system of giving prizes with book purchases, a plan which necessitated the outlay of some \$ 50,000. In January 1875, he had \$19,000 in the bank; in January 1876, he had sixty-two cents, along with *Publishers' Weekly's* endorsement of him as one of the "predestined bankrupts." The gift enterprise was born and buried in a marble front store in Boston, and at number 336

Washington Street, where Horace B. Fuller acted as salesman, it was said that "pianos, gold watches, and other luxuries too numerous to mention" were daily given to the customers. It is no wonder that little remained either for the publisher or his salesman.

By 1883, Horace B. Fuller had dissociated himself from the publishing business and worked for a few years as superintendent of Jordan Marsh.⁴¹ Then began those precarious years when he earned a "scant living by peddling books," until, on January 12, 1899, he turned on the gas in his boarding house at 29 Pinckney Street, and took his life.

In the eyes of the world, and perhaps in their own eyes, both James P. Walker and Horace B. Fuller were counted failures. Yet both men added by their publications to the age in which they lived, championing the causes of transcendental New England, and endorsing its faith in the progress of men, women, and children. By contrast with the great rival publishing houses, their imprints were few. Still, those imprints reflect an age that believed in the perfectibility of man and worked for its fruition. Despite their failure in business, both men illustrate the "success in non-success" that merits some memorial. By their imprints they will live, as long as transcendental New England is remembered.

Notes

1. "Obituary Notes," *Publishers' Weekly* LV:3 (January 21, 1899) p. 56. I am indebted to Mr. George L. McKay, Librarian of the Grolier Club, and to Mr. Rollo G. Silver for the use of the latter's notes deposited at the Grolier Club.

2. For this firm, see "Brewer & Tileston," *The Bookmakers. Reminiscences and Contemporary Sketches of American Publishers. From the New York Evening Post*. 1875 p. 107 & "Obituary. Charles Hickling," *Publishers' Weekly* XXXIII:24 (June 16, 1888) p. 940.

3. *American Literary Gazette and Publishers' Circular* IV:3 (December 1, 1864) p. 76.

4. Walker is described, and his early career narrated in [Thomas B. Fox, ed.], *Memoir of James P. Walker* (Boston 1869) *passim*.

5. *Ibid.* p. 24.

6. Bond died May 14, 1864 of wounds received in the Battle of the Wilderness. See *Harvard Memorial Biographies* (Cambridge 1866) II, 12 ff.

7. For the Walker, Wise imprints see, besides the books themselves, the firm's advertisements and announcements in *American Literary Gazette* II:7 (February 1, 1864) p. 254, II:10 (March 15, 1864) p. 355, III:1 (May 2, 1864) p. 31, III:10 (September 15, 1864) pp. 338-9, III:11 (October 1, 1864) p. 351, IV:3 (December 1, 1864) p. 97, IV:5 (January 2, 1865) p. 155, IV:8 (February 15, 1865) p. 231; their listings in Orville A. Roorbach, *The Bibliotheca Americana*, 1858-1861, *passim* and in *The American Catalogue* 1861-1866, *passim*; and their catalogues: *Catalogue of Standard Books chiefly by Eminent Unitarian Divines, for sale by Walker, Wise, & Co.* (Boston, n.d.) & *Catalogue of Sunday-School Manuals*; . . . *And Books Suitable for Sunday-School Libraries, for sale by Walker, Wise, And Company* (Boston 1859) — both courtesy of Mrs. Dorothea E. Spear, American Antiquarian Society.

8. See [Fox, ed.], *op. cit.*, *passim*.

9. See *Catalogue of Standard Books Chiefly by Eminent Unitarian Divines*, *op. cit.*

10. *American Literary Gazette* III:10 (September 15, 1864) p. 338.

11. "Publisher's Advertisement" in Wendell Phillips, *Speeches, Lectures, and Letters* (Boston: Walker, Wise and Co., 1864) p. iv.

12. *Catalogue of Sunday-School Manuals*, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

13. *Standard Books for the Young Published by Walker, Wise, & Co.* (Boston [1862]).

14. This work by William M. Thayer, published in 1863 by Walker, Wise, and republished by Walker, Fuller, has a particular claim to fame. "Written by the permission of the President himself, from material furnished by him," [*American Literary Gazette* III:1 (May 2, 1864) p. 31] it takes its place as one of the earliest biographies of Lincoln. Josiah G. Holland, the most important of the earlier Lincoln biographers, refers to it as "a singularly faithful statement of the early experiences of Abraham Lincoln" [J. G. Holland, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*. Springfield, Mass., 1866 p. 25n]. According to a late edition of the work [W. M. Thayer, *Abraham Lincoln The Pioneer Boy And How He Became President*. London 1906 p. v]: "The author of this volume wrote the first Life of Abraham Lincoln — The Pioneer Boy, And How He Became President — which, after a very large sale, passed out of print in consequence of the destruction of the plates by fire . . . 'The Pioneer Boy' was the first complete biography of the man." While credit was thus withheld from the Howells campaign biography of 1860, the Thayer work none the less merits a niche among early Lincoln biographies.

15. "Publishers' Note" in Henri Martin, *The Age of Louis XIV* (Boston: Walker, Wise, and Co., 1865) I, vii.

16. "Publishers' Note" in Harriet Martineau, *History of the Peace* (Boston: Walker, Wise, and Co., 1864) I, v.

17. For the Walker, Fuller imprints, see, besides the books themselves, the firm's advertisements and announcements in *American Literary Gazette* V:2 (May 15, 1865) p. 33, V:10 (September 15, 1865) p. 221, VI:1 (November 1, 1865) p. 29, VI:3 (December 1, 1865) p. 101, VI:11 (April 2, 1866) pp. 302 & 316; and their listings in *The American Catalogue*, 1861-1866, *passim*.

18. In his preface, the author, P. C. Headley, remarked, "The publishers have clearly done their part to make the volume acceptable to the people; and it is committed to them in the hope that it will be." See P. C. Headley, *Massachusetts in the Rebellion* (Boston: Walker, Fuller & Co., 1866) p. vii.

19. *American Literary Gazette* VI:8 (February 15, 1866) p. 228.
20. *Ibid.*, VI:9 (March 1, 1866) p. 249.
21. For these figures, see "Sketches of the Publishers. Walker, Fuller & Co., Boston," *The Round Table* III:30 (March 31, 1866) p. 203.
22. *American Literary Gazette* VI:8 (February 15, 1866) p. 223 & "Sketches of the Publishers," *The Round Table*, *op. cit.*, p. 202.
23. [Fox, ed.] *op. cit.*, p. 50.
24. [Fox, ed.], *op. cit.*, p. 29.
25. For Walker's later life, death, and this characterization, see *Ibid.* pp. 51, 82 & 97.
26. For the Fuller imprints, see, besides the works themselves, and the advertisements listed therein, Fuller's advertisements and announcements in *The American Booksellers' Guide* I:9 (July 1, 1869) p. 35, I:11 (September 1, 1869) p. 32; II:1 (November 1, 1870) p. 33, II:5 (May 1, 1870) pp. 222 & 224, II:6 (June 1, 1870) pp. 246 & 272, II:7 (July 1, 1870) p. 318, II:9 (September 1, 1870) p. 406, II:10 (October 1, 1870) p. 472, II:11 (November 1, 1870) p. 545, II:12 (December 1, 1870) pp. 574 & 578, III:2 (February 1, 1871) p. 75, III:3 (March 1, 1871) p. 115, III:4 (April 1, 1871) pp. 134 & 154, III:7 (July 1, 1871) p. 235, III:8 (August 1, 1871) p. 277, V:8 (August 1, 1873) p. 191; *American Literary Gazette* IX:11 (October 1, 1867) pp. 297-8, X:5 (January 1, 1868) p. 162, XI:1 (May 1, 1868) p. 39, XVI:9 (March 1, 1871) p. 175, XVI:11 (April 1, 1871) p. 228; *Merry's Museum* LIV:4 (October 1867), N.S.I:1 (January 1868), I:6 (June 1868), I:8 (August 1868), I:10 (October 1868), III:4 (April 1870), IV:10 (October 1871), advertisements; Fuller listings in *The American Catalogue*, 1866-1871, *passim*.
27. Mrs. Follen's *The Well-Spent Hour* was announced as a "wholesome little story — old-fashioned in its matter of fact tone, and sober account of a little girl's life, into which no thread of romance is woven" — an early appeal for realism in juvenile stories. See advertisement at end of Mary G. Darling, *Battles at Home* (Boston: Horace B. Fuller, 1871). The Alcott book, *Morning Glories, and Other Stories*, gave the Series its title.
28. For details of *Merry's Museum* under Fuller's aegis, see, besides the periodical itself, *American Literary Gazette* IX:11 (October 1, 1867) p. 298 & X:6 (January 15, 1868) p. 177.
29. *Merry's Museum* LIV:4 (October 1867), verso of cover.
30. *Ibid.*, LIV:5 (November 1867), Prospectus for 1868, verso of cover.
31. *Ibid.*, LIV:6 (December 1867) pp. 1 & 2.
32. See Madeleine B. Stern, "The First Appearance of a 'Little Women' Incident," *American Notes & Queries* III:7 (October 1943) pp. 99-100.
33. Miss Alcott recorded in her Journal for January 1868: "F. pays me \$500 a year for my name and some editorial work on Merry's Museum." See Ednah D. Cheney, ed., *Louisa May Alcott Her Life, Letters, and Journals* (Boston 1889) p. 193 & Madeleine B. Stern, *Louisa May Alcott* (Norman, Okla., 1950) pp. 168 ff.
34. *Merry's Museum* I:12 (December 1868), Prospectus . . . for 1869.
35. *Ibid.*, verso of front cover.
36. L. M. Alcott to her uncle, Boston, January 22 [1869] (Houghton Library, courtesy Mr. William A. Jackson).
37. The Series was so-named because "Dirigo" (I direct) was the motto of the state of Maine, and the first volume concerned "Six Months in the Forests of

Maine." The existence of the Alcott juvenile, *Will's Wonder Book*, remained unknown until it was discovered as a volume in this Series. For the announcement of this discovery and a more detailed treatment, see Madeleine B. Stern, "Louisa's Wonder Book: A Newly Discovered Alcott Juvenile," which will appear in the November 1954 issue of *American Literature*. I am indebted to Mr. Frederick R. Goff, Chief, Rare Book Division, Library of Congress, for permission to examine the Series.

38. *The American Booksellers' Guide* IV:12 (December 1, 1872) p. 408.

39. In 1877, Fuller is listed in the Boston Directory as a clerk at 340 Washington Street, where the bookseller, William B. Clarke, is also located.

40. In 1879, Horace Fuller is listed in the Boston Directory as a salesman at 336 Washington Street, where Albert W. Lovering is located. For details about Lovering, see "The Boston Failure," *Publishers' Weekly* IX:6 (February 5, 1876) p. 170; Adolph Growoll Scrapbooks, *American Book Trade History* VIII, 125 (Courtesy *Publishers' Weekly*); *Publishers' Weekly* IX:8 (February 19, 1876) p. 229, XV:17 (April 26, 1879) p. 491, XV:24 (June 14, 1879) p. 648.

41. Horace B. Fuller is listed in the Boston Directories 1883-85 as superintendent, 450 Washington Street, where Jordan Marsh was located. (Information courtesy Mr. Paul North Rice, New York Public Library, and Mr. Richard G. Hensley and Mr. Frank P. Bruno, Boston Public Library).

Emily Dickinson and Isaac Watts

By JAMES DAVIDSON

SINCE Emily Dickinson's status as one of America's greatest poets has become more and more evident, the search for her literary sources has been intensified. Mrs. Bianchi presents a formidable list of authors, ranging from Socrates and Plato down to William Dean Howells, with whom she thinks Emily Dickinson was at least acquainted.¹ Some critics have found similarities to Shakespeare, Sir Thomas Browne, and Blake. Emily Dickinson herself discloses her feelings toward various writers: a reverence for Mrs. Browning, George Eliot, and her friend Helen Hunt Jackson; an ambivalence for Hawthorne; mild antipathy toward Henry James and Howells; and ignorance of Poe and the "disgraceful" Whitman.²

The buoyant spirit of Transcendentalism filled the Amherst air about Emily Dickinson, but critics are not agreed regarding its influence on her. Professor Whicher observes, "What she actually represents is the last surprising bloom — the November witch-hazel blossom — of New England's flowering time." Another writer cites a poem of hers which he thinks "Emerson himself might have written"; still another is convinced that her poems "much more nearly resemble work done long before or considerably thereafter than any contemporary products."³

Of the "work done long before," the area that appears most promising for investigation is the seventeenth century. Ever since Emily Dickinson's first official critic, the well-intentioned but baffled T. W. Higginson, detected a metaphysical flavor in a certain poem, many have compared her poetry to that of the seventeenth century. She once copied out two stanzas of George Herbert, and another time she made a misspelled reference to "Vaughn." Unfortunately, this is our only evidence that she read the metaphysicals. But before dismissing the idea completely, we might note in passing that Emerson owes a debt to Donne and his circle.⁴

It is generally accepted that Emily Dickinson took her stanza forms from the hymns of her day.⁵ Professor Whicher points out that "more than half of her published poems are written in

the familiar ballad stanza, the 'common meter' of the hymn books." He goes on to show the many other hymn forms that she used. No one, however — with the possible exception of some elusive critics mentioned by Isaac Watts's biographer, Arthur Paul Davis, who have found "echoes of Watts" in Emily Dickinson⁶ — seems to have dealt more than superficially with the hymns as a source for her. Only the matter of form and rime have been discussed. But does it not seem curious that she should derive her stanza forms from the Congregational hymns — forms which she uses almost exclusively — and should not be influenced by the content and style? If the architecture appealed to her, one may be certain that the message did too.

The hymn-books of Emily Dickinson's day fell into two categories. In one, which had short and wide pages, the words and music were written together, as in most hymnals today. Inevitably there was a detailed preface of singing instructions, including harmony, intonation, and note value. The other kind of hymn-book contained only the lyric verse, infrequently with music in the back pages. Each of these hymns without music was labelled according to its meter, the most common being "C. M." (common meter), "L. M." (long meter), and "S. M." (short meter), all of which Emily Dickinson used profusely. Economy of space was evidently the aim of this arrangement, by means of which the large body of verse written by the prolific Watts and his imitators could furnish infinite variety for the hymn tunes that the New Englanders loved and had memorized from early youth.

However, this second kind of book had a function beyond that of being merely sung. Composed chiefly of paraphrased Scripture, it was regarded literally as a collection of inspired wisdom and as such was earnestly studied. It was even carried about to improve one's spare moments, as is shown by the numerous pocket-size editions, some only three or four inches high. Virtually everyone in New England was exposed to these various hymn-books; and these books were based, entirely or partly, on the *Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs* of Isaac Watts.

It is difficult now to comprehend fully the vogue that Watts enjoyed in early nineteenth-century New England. His hymns

were published in and around Boston in an enormous variety of editions. Prefaces by his editors abound in testimonials to his attraction. To say that his epitomizing of the slightly softened Puritan spirit was responsible for his popularity may be correct; yet there were many others who were equally devoted to this spirit. Watts had more than this. Few people today would care to read his hymns from beginning to end, but such a journey is not without its oases. His verses are not without a certain vivid imagery and forcefulness which, combined with his complete religious dedication, gave the New England Congregationalists exactly what they wanted. As his biographer puts it, "Watts did not possess great genius, but he used that which he had with an industry and devotion to an ideal rarely equalled."⁷

However, the New Englanders did not accept Watts uncritically; some of them objected to his phraseology and the liberties he took with rime. The Reverend William Allen, one-time president of Bowdoin College, and editor and part-author of *Psalms and Hymns for Public Worship*, gives a list of "inexcusable" rimes that Watts used. Later he quotes a Mr. Milner who adds piously, "Another defect is the occurrence of harsh expressions — phraseology, which seems to appeal to angry and vindictive passions — and to give utterance to feelings, incongruous with the pure and heavenly emotions, which influence the spiritual worshipper."⁸

To "correct" conditions such as these, not a few of Watts's editors meddled extensively with his work, substituting a rime here, smoothing out a phrase there. A striking parallel was to occur later when T. W. Higginson attempted to smooth out Emily Dickinson's poetry, finally giving up and letting her take her own course. The Reverend Mr. Allen also tells us that the hymn book entitled *Church Psalmody* is one in which Watts is virtually unchanged — a copy of which was in the library of Edward Dickinson, Emily's father. She also had access to her mother's book, *Watts' Hymns* (1810).

Colonel Higginson was not the last to call attention to Emily Dickinson's irregularities. There always seem to be a few genteel critics ready to take her to task for her roughness. Even if this censure were not irrelevant, it would be largely untrue; for most of her verse scans regularly. As for the rest, one may say

with Professor G. W. Allen that "the thought becomes of far more importance than rhythm, rime, and word music." This ideal ties in closely with Emerson, the metaphysicals, and, to a certain extent, with Isaac Watts.

The Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs is divided into four parts. The first is a verse paraphrase of the Psalms, and the remainder consists of three books of "Hymns and Spiritual Songs": Book I is completely Scriptural paraphrase; Book II is partly Scripture, but mostly independent holy verse; Book III is half-Scriptural, half-independent. Bible references are given for all paraphrases. Doubtless, Emily Dickinson went directly to the Bible itself for many of her ideas, but she was indebted to Watts in no small degree. Her work sometimes has greater similarity to the Watts version than to the Biblical original; and there are some touches that are not taken from the Bible at all but from non-Scriptural hymns.

Let us briefly examine the form and rime of the two poets. Emily Dickinson uses the Wattsian forms almost exclusively; and even in a manner that sounds like Watts, different though the merit may be. She indulges in the same sort of half-rime, although to a more exaggerated extent; whereas Watts seldom goes beyond such irregularities as matching "seem" with "him," "crop" with "hope," "comes" with "assumes," "heavenness" with "grace,"⁹ Emily Dickinson rimes "gained" with "spade," "veiled" with "God," "ring" with "sun."¹⁰ The similarity to Watts, however, goes further than this. One of his favorite riming combinations is "given" (or "forgiven") and "heaven," which Emily Dickinson uses no less than seven times.¹¹ Moreover, one such stanza of hers and one of his are identical in form and subject matter. First Watts:

My gracious God, how plain
Are thy directions giv'n!
O may I never read in vain,
But find the path to heaven.

Then Emily Dickinson:

I never spoke with God,
Nor visited in heaven;
Yet certain am I of the spot
As if the chart were given.¹²

The difference between these two versions is the relationship of the writer to God. Watts has received clear directions from the Almighty; he only hopes that he will have the strength to follow them. Emily Dickinson, on the other hand, denies that God has given her any help; her faith and direction of travel are established by her alone, yet are none the less secure. It almost seems as if she were purposely refuting Watts's orthodoxy. Such is probably not the case, however. In view of her declaration of artistic integrity to Higginson, "I . . . never consciously touch a paint mixed by another person,"¹³ one may assume that the refuting of Watts, along with the borrowed rime, was unconscious, and hence all the more significant.

As is perhaps more evident in her letters than in her poetry, Emily Dickinson was in part, at least, a product of Emersonian Transcendentalism. But, as Allen Tate observes, she was writing during a period when the old Calvinistic order was breaking up, and the accent shifting from authoritarianism to individualism; and unlike Emerson, rather more like Hawthorne, she was deeply a part of the old order.¹⁴ Calvinism is certainly a stronger influence on her than is generally thought. Although in Watts one can perceive a gradual shift in emphasis from a God of wrath to one of lovingkindness, nevertheless the overall impression is one of strict Calvinism. In the index of subjects, the items with the largest number of references include "God," "heaven," and "Death," all of which are among the words most frequently used by Emily Dickinson in her poetry.¹⁵ She and Watts both stress the word "Love" too, but in Watts's case it is mostly the overwhelming "condescension" with which the Lord God treats depraved man. Emily Dickinson is in revolt against the Calvinistic dogma: but it is too frantic a revolt to carry any conviction of victory. Like the person she observed who "preached upon 'breadth' till it argued him narrow," she preaches upon independence from God till it argues her enslaved.

Thus Emily Dickinson does not swallow whole the Calvinistic notion of a white heaven and a red hell; but that the concept of death unquestionably troubled her deeply is seen in the great number of poems she devotes to the subject. Watts treats the actual death process with an enthusiasm and attention to

detail that is not found in the Biblical originals. In Emily Dickinson's poems, the emphasis is more on the mystery of death and the life beyond than on the graveyard details; yet she does pay some attention to the latter, notably in the following poems:

I died for beauty, but was scarce
Adjusted in the tomb,
When one who died for truth was lain
In an adjoining room.

He questioned softly why I failed?
"For beauty," I replied.
"And I for truth, — the two are one;
We brethren are," he said.

And so, as kinsmen met a night,
We talked between the rooms,
Until the moss had reached our lips,
And covered up our names.

"Our lips" probably refers to the tombstones (she says "my granite lip" in another poem) on which the names would be inscribed, and where moss would grow; but on a deeper level it means the identity of the deceased, which is doomed to annihilation. This interest in the macabre has a similarity to Watts.

Both Emily Dickinson and Watts versify the drama of Abraham and Isaac; and they have this striking feature in common: both append a moral interpretation to the tale which is not found in the Bible. Watts is dogmatically orthodox; the story illustrates, he says, that the Lord is closest at hand when man is most grievously afflicted. Emily Dickinson's view is completely opposite. When Abraham is commanded to execute his son, she observes

Not a hesitation,
Abraham complied;
Flattered by obeisance,
Tyranny demurred.

Isaac to his children
Lived to tell the tale.
Moral: with a mastiff
Manners may prevail.

In Watts's "Psalms" God is generally adamant and vengeful; but in the "Hymns and Spiritual Songs," especially in those

not based on Scripture, much is made of Jesus' intercession on our behalf, and God's pleasure therein:

The glorious tenants of the place
Stand bending round the throne
And saints and seraphs sing and praise
The infinite Three-One.

But oh, what beams of heavenly grace
Transport them all the while!
Ten thousand smiles from Jesus' face,
And love in ev'ry smile!¹⁶

The saints and seraphs of Emily Dickinson do their celebrating too, but in a less orderly and dignified manner. The poem beginning "I taste a liquor never brewed" concludes:

Till seraphs swing their snowy hats,
And saints to windows run,
To see the little tippler
Leaning against the sun!¹⁷

The deific smile in Watts represents God's joy in Christ's intercession; in Emily Dickinson it is a smile of the utmost irony at man's expense:

And so, upon this wise I prayed,—
Great Spirit, give to me
A heaven not so large as yours,
But large enough for me.
A smile suffused Jehovah's face;
The cherubim withdrew;
Grave saints stole out to look at me,
And showed their dimples, too.
I left the place with all my might,—
My prayer away I threw;
The quiet ages picked it up,
And Judgment twinkled, too,
That one so honest be extant
As take the tale for true
That "Whatsoever you shall ask,
Itself be given you . . ." ¹⁸

It is rather difficult to lay examples of the two poets side by side, for Emily Dickinson's fire of imagination far surpasses Watts's modest talents. But it is not beyond possibility. Watts

occasionally has a distillation, an economy and twist of expression, that is very close to the sort of thing that Emily Dickinson was to do more than a hundred years later. Of sinners at the resurrection he writes,

Laid in the grave, like silly sheep,
 Death feeds upon them there;
 'Till the last trumpet breaks their sleep,
 In terror and despair.¹⁹

Emily Dickinson says no one knows what victory is so well

As he, defeated, dying,
 On whose forbidden ear
 The distant strains of triumph
 Break, agonized and clear.²⁰

There is a similarity of detail here; both poems have a victory sound which "breaks"; and even "trumpet" and "triumph" sound alike. But there is a greater similarity of feeling; the very essence is the same. In both cases those who have absolutely nothing to rejoice over hear the sound of triumph for others, a sound which can only bring them agony and despair.

Watts speaks of the vanity of human existence, as follows:

A span is all that we can boast
 An inch or two of time;
 Man is but vanity and dust,
 In all his flower and prime.²¹

Emily Dickinson uses the phrase "final inch" twice in her poems, in each case dealing with human existence. "The Final Inch" is even the title of a sub-section in *Bolts of Melody*, an area which deals, according to the editors, with the "ways in which a man may die."

Watts's literary relationship with New England is rather complex. He was a representative of the dying Calvinism, but a Calvinism that becomes much gentler than its parent stock in his *Hymns and Spiritual Songs*. He also has a subtle relationship with the metaphysicals. He did most of his writing in the eighteenth century, and did it in regular verse forms; but he injects a certain passion into his work, combined with a mild contempt for rime, that is more akin to the metaphysicals than to the smooth, objective verse of the neo-classicists. Could it

not be that much of what is regarded as metaphysical in Emily Dickinson is derived more from Watts than from the seventeenth-century poets? Emerson himself was perhaps influenced by him. In any case, Watts was a source for some of the best poetry written in the romantic era of New England.

Notes

1. Martha Dickinson Bianchi, *The Life and Letters of Emily Dickinson* (Boston, 1924), p. 80.
2. *Letters of Emily Dickinson*, ed. Mabel Loomis Todd (New York, 1931), pp. 273, 313, 260, 414.
3. George F. Whicher, *This Was a Poet* (New York, 1938), p. 153; Herbert E. Childs, "Emily Dickinson and Sir Thomas Browne," *American Literature*, XXII (January 1951) 461; Henry W. Wells, *Introduction to Emily Dickinson* (Chicago, 1947), pp. 115-16.
4. Norman A. Brittin, "Emerson and the Metaphysical Poets," *American Literature*, VIII (1936), 1-21.
5. Whicher, pp. 240, 244; G. W. Allen, *American Prosody* (New York, 1935), pp. 313-14; D. G. van der Vat, "Emily Dickinson," *English Studies*, XXI (1939), p. 248.
6. Arthur Paul Davis, *Isaac Watts* (New York, 1943), p. 185.
7. Davis, p. 223.
8. William Allen, D.D., *Psalms and Hymns for Public Worship* (Boston, 1835), p. xx.
9. Watts: p. 195 Psalm 95; p. 148 Psalm 65; p. 369 Hymn 147; p. 245 Psalm 119.
10. *The Poems of Emily Dickinson* (hereinafter, *Poems*), ed. M. D. Bianchi and A. L. Hampson (Boston, 1937), pp. 237, 235, 169.
11. Emily Dickinson, *Bolts of Melody*, ed. M. L. Todd and M. T. Bingham (New York, 1945), pp. 216, 255; *Poems*, pp. 58, 163, 167, 378, 384. At this point and subsequently I am indebted to an unpublished thesis by Louise Kline Kelley, *A Concordance of Emily Dickinson's Poems*, 2 vol. (Pennsylvania State College, 1951).
12. Watts, p. 80 Psalm 19; *Poems*, p. 163.
13. *Letters*, p. 278.
14. Allen Tate, "Emily Dickinson," *Reactionary Essays on Poetry and Ideas* (New York, 1936).
15. Louise Kline Kelley, *A Concordance of Emily Dickinson's Poems*.
16. Watts, p. 394 Hymn 33.
17. *Poems*, p. 12.
18. *Poems*, p. 21.
19. Watts, p. 125 Psalm 49.
20. *Poems*, p. 3.
21. Watts, p. 112 Psalm 39.

Satan's Law-Suit Against Christ

By MARGARET MUNSTERBERG

THE Library's collection of medieval manuscripts has been enriched by a fine example of popular literature — a German translation of the *Belial* by Jacobus de Theramo. Such works are particularly rare, for whereas missals and books of hours, the works of the church fathers, or narratives of chivalry, copied with great care and elaborately decorated, have been preserved in cathedrals, castles, and universities, books in the vernacular which were produced for the less wealthy or learned were more likely to have been destroyed in the course of centuries. Indeed, the Library has only a few such manuscripts: there is a fifteenth-century Life of St. Augustine,¹ a German Evangelary,² and a French Art of Dying. *Belial*, this most curious product of medieval imagination and jurisprudence, has been a welcome addition. The manuscript, apparently the only one of its kind in America, is a folio of over a hundred paper leaves, with sixty-one brightly colored illustrations, most of which fill half a page. The script is bâlard Gothic, with red rubrics beneath the pictures. The volume is bound in contemporary pigskin over wooden boards, with metal clasps and decorative bosses in the center and the corners.

The language and orthography of the work represent a period of transition from the middle high to the new high German, when some word-forms seemed to be in a fluid state. The manuscript was apparently written in the 1460's. Another copy from the second half of the fifteenth century, now in a state library at Wiesbaden, Germany, has been described by Dittmar Heubach in a monograph containing facsimiles of the illustrations.³ The latter are more sophisticated than those of the Library's manuscript. Further, many expressions in the Library's manuscript are spelled in a more archaic form (for example, "gepot" for "gebot"), all of which helps to strengthen the inference that the Library's manuscript is the older one.

The author of the Latin original, which he named *Consolatio peccatorum*, was an ecclesiastic and jurist born about 1349 in

the town of Theramo in the Abbruzzi, studied law at Padua, became archdeacon of Aversa, later professor of canon law at Padua, bishop of Florence and of Spoleto, and archbishop of Taranto. He was sent by Pope Martin V as a legate to Poland, where he died in 1417. According to his own statement, he completed the writing of his work at Aversa on the thirtieth of October, 1382. Although he was also the author of commentaries and of a *Tractatus monarchialis*, a work on the Papacy, which remained in manuscript, it was this *Consolatio peccatorum*, better known as *Processus Luciferi contra Jesum Christum* and as *Belial*, that became famous.

The substance of the narrative, the descent of Christ to Hell between the Crucifixion and the Resurrection, releasing the patriarchs and other virtuous souls, can be traced to early apocryphal Christian writings; the peculiar method of its presentation in the form of a law-suit was a medieval development.

The Descent into Hell (explicitly stated in the Apostles' Creed) was treated by various Patristic writers,⁴ including Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebius of Caesarea, and in numerous apocrypha, especially the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, the third part of which is known as the *Descensus*. The date of this part has been in dispute among scholars, some of whom have suggested an earlier source at the beginning of the third century.⁵ The Descent took hold of the popular imagination, and affected art and literature. The Middle English poem *The Harrowing of Hell*⁶ was the first English embodiment of the narrative, as also the first extant English religious drama. The theme of the Descent appeared not only in the English mystery-plays but in the French and German as well.

For the version of the Descent represented in the Library's manuscript, one must add to the spiritual and the dramatic aspects of the event a new feature at once more fantastic and more mundane — namely the legal. It was not by chance that the author of *Belial* was a professor of canon law. Yet he was not an innovator in presenting the conflict between Christ and Satan as a law-suit, but was rather following an already established tradition. The *Processus Sathanae* was a peculiar medieval phenomenon. The doctrine of the atonement as taught by some of the church fathers had given rise to a conception of a litiga-

tion in which God won mankind from the devil. Dr. Roderich Stintzing, in a history of the German popular literature in the field of canon law,⁷ points out that the great scholastics Thomas Aquinas and Anselm opposed this idea, while St. Bernard and Hugh of St. Victor were not averse to it. Moreover, from the latter part of the twelfth century on, the *advocatus diaboli* (devil's advocate) belonged in the legal formalities preceding canonization. The account of the *Processus Sathanae* appeared in different revisions, the last of which was attributed to the great jurist Bartolus, and was already known by 1382. The litigation presented in this work was that of Satan against the human race, in which Christ is the judge and the Virgin Mary the advocate.

The *Belial* of Jacobus de Theramo is considered more logical, more properly juridical than its predecessors, since in it Satan sues not the human race, but Christ for having robbed him of the souls in Hell, and God is the Judge. The work was translated into numerous languages, and very early into German. Although the name of the German translator is not known, Albrecht van Eyb and Nicolaus von Wyle have been suggested, both jurists who died in the 1470's. Copinger lists six fifteenth-century editions of the Latin text, four of them printed in Germany; eight editions of the French text, one of the Dutch, and nineteen of the German, all printed between 1472 and 1500, several with woodcuts. The Library owns a copy of the Latin edition *Lis Christi*, printed in Cologne in 1473.⁸

There appears to be no record of any early English translation of the work,⁹ and no modern rendering into English is known to the present writer. It may therefore be worth while to examine the text of the Library's manuscript by means of brief summaries and quotations.

THE book opens with a salutation by "the priest Jacob von Taranis." He recalls the prophecies of the advent of a Savior, and tells how the patriarchs in the lower regions prayed: "Lord, send us him who is to be sent." Thereupon God held a council "in his Trinity" to decide which member of it should make the descent. The Son, joining his prayers to those of the captives in Hell, offered to sacrifice himself. The narrator brief-



Belial and Moses Pleading before Solomon

ly relates the annunciation, the birth of Christ, his life of healing and miracles, and the Crucifixion. "And although he was overcome and killed with a carnal death in his humanity, he was nevertheless strong in his divinity. Therefore he set out for Hell and began to encircle it and warned its princes with a mighty voice, saying: 'Raise your gates, that the King of Glory, strong and mighty in battle, may enter in!'" The princes of Hell fastened their gates all the more. Then Jesus broke Hell and chased away the devils, and joyfully led out those he knew were captive in it and brought them to Paradise. "And he bound the prince Satan, the usurer of all evil, with durable iron chains in the depth of Hell. And then he departed from Hell with all the patriarchs, kings, and prophets and all who had carried out his commandment." Then Jesus returned to his body, which he had left in the earth. "And when he had taken it on again, he arose from the dead in the same body." The devils, seeing what Jesus had done in Hell, wrung their hands and roared like lions and wild bears, and shed bitter tears.

The whole community of Hell was called together. "A malicious tiger devil named Osteroth (Ashtaroth)" exhorted them to consider how they could have their lost power restored. "We all know well," he said, "that God is just, that he is impartial to everyone and lets him have his right."¹⁰ As they had been violently robbed, he hoped that, after proving their rightful claims, they would have their possessions returned. So they chose "one versed in the law, called Belial," in whom they vested full power to prosecute the case.

Belial appeared before God and in a loud voice presented the plight of Satan and the other devils: "As your Holiness well knows, they have received confirmation from your hand and have the guarantee for the possession of all human beings that have ever lived and all their souls." He stated how one named Jesus, son of Joseph and Mary, whom his own people killed for his wrong-doing, overpowered Hell and robbed it of its rights. "And most high Lord," Belial argued, "although it would be right that I should name you as judge, considering that Jesus, while he lived on earth, often said 'God is my father,' it is evident that what concerns the son concerns the father." Therefore he besought God to appoint a disinterested judge. After

asking to what diocese Jesus belonged and being told "the diocese of Bethlehem," God said that it was proper to refer the case to a judge of Jerusalem, which is no more than a day's journey from the defendant's diocese. Belial consenting, God asked: "How do you like the king named Solomon in Jerusalem?" "I like him well," Belial replied, "for he is a just judge." Then God gave him a letter for Solomon, dated "Paradise the twenty-sixth day of March."

Solomon then ordered Jesus to appear at Court by a letter delivered by Asahel, the swift runner. Jesus, however, did not wish to attend the court himself, and appointed Moses as his representative. Belial having presented his case, Moses retorted: "Do you not know that you are under a ban, together with those who have made you their counsel? Have you not been cast out of heaven for your arrogance? The summons of one who is under a ban has no force." "Moses, clever jurist," Belial replied, "for a wise man you are now talking unwisely. You say I am under a ban because we have been cast from heaven. Now we are all together a whole community, and you know very well that a whole community cannot be under a ban." He had still another weapon. "But, Moses," he continued, "don't you know that you are an accused person? For you have killed a man, and thereafter buried him in the sand."¹ Moses became frightened and kept silent, but Solomon tried to smooth matters out. Finally Belial formally presented the suit of Hell against Jesus.

Another day was set for the hearing, and the witnesses sworn in were Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, John the Baptist, Aristotle, Virgil, and Hippocrates. Belial objected to the witnesses on the ground that they had been kidnapped from Hell, and would therefore be partial to Moses's client; the latter, however, maintained that their experience made them all the more valuable as eye-witnesses. Belial found fault also with the individual witnesses, abused the patriarchs, and called Virgil "a fool whom one has often imitated," and Aristotle one "who sneaked into Solomon's treasure-room and appropriated his wisdom, claiming to have invented it himself." Against John the Baptist he had no objection. In the meantime he shifted the emphasis of his suit, now standing on the right of eminent domain. He pleaded that man, through his disobedience to God, has once

for all been delivered over to Satan and his army, and that these have had rightful dominion over him for more than four thousand years. Moses in turn argued that God had created man innocent and in his likeness but, through the devil's envy, death came into the world.

At last the day came when Solomon solemnly declared in favor of Jesus against Satan. Belial, enraged, reproached him for having "regarded friendship more than justice." Ten days were allowed the litigants, after which they might appeal from the verdict. This Belial decided to do. Equipped with a letter from Solomon, he stepped before the throne of God, appealing: "Lord, have pity, for a great injustice has been done unto me . . . Solomon has thought more of Jesus's being his kin than of justice." He requested another judge, and God asked: "How should you like Joseph, the Patriarch's son and administrator in Egypt?" Belial said: "I like him well."

Before the new judge again long arguments took place. Belial, fearing to lose, sought counsel from David, who advised that both parties choose men to arbitrate the case. Thereupon Belial chose Caesar Augustus and the prophet Jeremiah, while Moses, for his part, chose Aristotle and the prophet Isaiah. In case the four could not come to a unanimous decision, Joseph was to be umpire. Once more the question turns on the authority of Jesus as the Son of God. Caesar Augustus recognized him saying, "In the time when I was emperor he was born, and there was such a great peace in the whole world that people wanted to adore me as a god." He realized that Jesus was right in the law-suit; nevertheless, because of the existing doubt about the verdict, he proposed that the whole world be divided in two parts, one assigned to Jesus and the other to Hell. Jeremiah protested against this idea because then innocent people would go to Hell. Aristotle modestly admitted that, while he had sought to find out the cause of all things in Heaven and Earth, what he had just heard was new to him. It now seemed to him right that the wicked people and sinners should be in Hell and the good and perfect with Jesus. Jeremiah thought that this would be a hard verdict, "for it is contrary to nature that man should live without sin."

The arbitrators concluded by deciding unanimously that

Jesus had won, but that the souls of sinners would fall to Hell in the last Judgment. The verdict caused mixed feelings in Hell, where, in place of the captive Satan, the devils elected Beelphebor (Beelzebub) as their head. They then dispersed in all parts of the world, so that men have to be wary as they may encounter them anywhere.

THE illustrations accord with the spirit of the text. All are remarkable in composition, and, although many are similar, no two will be found to be exact repeats. The first eight may have been the work of a different hand from that which drew and painted the rest, for these preliminary pictures are somewhat paler in tone and less forcible in gestures and expressions. They begin with a curious representation of three devils. The more brightly colored series opens with a picture of King Solomon on the judge's seat, with the litigants Moses and Belial before him. This is the theme of most of the scenes that follow. Moses, always in a blue robe and with horns, contrasts with the gray, shaggy form of Belial who appears almost always naked. This trio is seen by itself, or with an attendant to the King, or with one or more witnesses. Solomon is generally dressed in a robe of a warm rose color which, together with the cool blue of Moses's robe, presents a pleasing combination not unfamiliar in paintings of a later period, while the green foreground, the occasional bright red robe of a witness, and the cinnabar red frame that encloses some of the pictures add sharper notes.

The picture illustrating Belial's return to Hell for consultation shows a monstrous fanged jaw spewing forth four black devils, who face Belial and his escort. In an extraordinary picture of the Resurrection one sees at the left Christ, in a scarlet robe, standing on the lid of the tomb with a cross and red-cross banner, and, to the right, Jonah emerging out of the mouth of the whale. Toward the end of the book, the arbitrators are sitting in a row; but here the individual members are difficult to identify. Nearly filling two opposite pages are seven pictures illustrating the seven deadly sins: pride — Lucifer thrust into the jaws of Hell; avarice — men with a heap of money; unchastity — Delilah cutting Samson's hair;¹² envy — the earth

swallowing up a man; gluttony — a royal banquet; wrath — Moses showing the broken tablet of the law; and murder — Jael driving a nail into the head of Sisera.¹³ The final pictures are more or less traditional representations of the Last Judgment.

Notes

1. *B. P. L. Quarterly* for January, 1952.
2. *B. P. L. Quarterly* for July, 1953.
3. Dittmar Heubach, ed., *Der Belial, kolorierte Federzeichnungen aus einer Handschrift des XV Jahrhunderts* (Strassburg, 1927).
4. For a comprehensive study of this subject the reader is referred to J. A. MacCulloch, *The Harrowing of Hell, a comparative Study of an early Christian Doctrine* (Edinburgh, 1930).
5. *Opus cit.*, p. 155.
6. William Henry Hulme, ed., *The Middle English Harrowing of Hell and Gospel of Nicodemus* (London, 1907), a publication of the Early English Text Society. For an account of the *Descensus* in art see pp. lxiv-lxv.
7. Roderich Stintzing, *Geschichte der populären Literatur des Römisch-kanonischen Rechts in Deutschland* (Leipzig, 1867) p. 259 ff.
8. *Lis Cristi et Belial*, Cologne, 1473? This work contains at the end the author's statement that he completed the work at Aversa in 1382, which is not in the German manuscript.
9. Excepting a statement, quoted by Stintzing from a 1611 publication called *Processus joco-serius*, including the *Belial*, in which the editor enumerates the languages into which *Belial* had been translated: German, French, Italian, Spanish, English, Danish, Belgian, Hungarian, Polish.
10. Cf. Epistle of St. James, II, 19: "The devils also believe, and tremble."
11. Exodus, II, 12.
12. Judges, XVI.
13. Judges, IV.

Early New England Court Records

A Bibliography of Published Materials

ALTHOUGH many records of Colonial courts still remain unpublished, a large amount of information about the work of these courts is now accessible in printed books. Forty or fifty years ago, distinguished scholars described our ancestors as living under a "rude, untechnical popular law," with the addition of regulations from the Old Testament but uninfluenced by the common law of England. Subsequently published Colonial court records show that this is very far from being true, except possibly during a few troubled years after the first settlers arrived in a colony. The legal rules for governing transactions and the procedure for settling disputes were much more mature than scholars used to think.

Many problems remain open for exploration. We want, for instance, to know more about the precise relations between what Colonial judges did and what English judges were doing at the same time. How far is it true that the thirteen colonies had thirteen legal systems and not just a single variety of the English common law? Why did Colonial courts abstain almost entirely from writing judicial opinions to explain the reasons for their decisions? How much did the parties to a litigation employ representatives to present the case in court, and just how did these representatives transform themselves into what we should call lawyers, at a rate which varied greatly from colony to colony? Further study of the printed materials we already have, will, I believe, enable us to reach satisfactory solutions of such problems. The manuscripts still awaiting publication are unlikely to reveal startling novel aspects of the work of Colonial courts. No doubt, as new records are printed, they will clear up many doubtful points and supply valuable fresh information about individual disputes and bits of social and economic history. But for the operation of the main forces which shaped Colonial law, we have what we need in print now and future books will only give us more of the same.

In addition to the interest of published Colonial records to lawyers, they have great value for historians, especially those

who are seeking to learn how the colonists lived, acquired and managed property, and engaged in quarrels. An old author or newspaper often tells us disappointingly little about some of the most important features of human conduct at the time. The writer knew that such matters would be taken for granted by those for whom he was writing. In an old lawsuit, however, much less was taken for granted. The facts of everyday life had to be presented in the complaint or the testimony of witnesses, so as to let the judges know the nature of the dispute.

It is time for us to take stock of what we now have in records of Colonial courts. That is the purpose of the very useful task which Mr. William Jeffrey, Jr., Assistant Law Librarian at Yale, has just finished. Hitherto it has been hard for scholars to find all the books containing court records in a particular colony. A glance at this bibliography will show cases appearing in unexpected places. And books which deal specifically with court records have a confusing variety of titles. Hence Professor Mark DeW. Howe and I have long cherished the hope that a bibliography could be compiled so as to enable anybody investigating the law of a particular colony to get a complete list of all the printed court records of that colony. Also it was desirable to carry on the job beyond Independence to 1800. This plan would close the gap until the time when law reports were getting published in most of the original states.

Fortunately, we found in Mr. Jeffrey a man who was eager and competent to do this work. He began with the New England colonies, all of which appear in the present publication.

The task ought not to stop with New England. We hope very much that Mr. Jeffrey will be able to compile one or more similar bibliographies for the Middle Colonies and the Southern Colonies. We look forward to the publication of a single book listing the court records in all the colonies and states before 1800.

Errors and omissions are inevitable in any bibliography. We shall be very grateful to readers who will send corrections and additions to Mr. Jeffrey or Mr. Howe. Their suggestions will be carefully considered and will add much to the value of the eventual book.

Zechariah Chafee, Jr.

Connecticut

1. The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut.

Transcribed and published, (in accordance with a resolution of the General Assembly,) under the supervision of the Secretary of State, with occasional notes, . . . by J. Hammond Trumbull (vols. 1-3) and Charles Jeremy Hoadly (vols. 4-15). Hartford, 1850-1890.

Vol. 1	1636-1665	viii + 604 pp.	(1850)
Vol. 2	1665-1678	iv + 610 pp.	(1852)
Vol. 3	May, 1678-June, 1689	xiv + 538 pp.	(1859)
Vol. 4	August, 1689-May, 1706	vi + 574 pp.	(1868)
Vol. 5	October, 1706-October, 1716	v + 612 pp.	(1870)
Vol. 6	May, 1717-October, 1725	iv + 602 pp.	(1872)
Vol. 7	May, 1726-May, 1735	iv + 610 pp.	(1873)
Vol. 8	October, 1735-October, 1743	ii + 604 pp.	(1874)
Vol. 9	May, 1744-November, 1750	ii + 621 pp.	(1876)
Vol. 10	May, 1751-February, 1757	ii + 652 pp.	(1877)
Vol. 11	May, 1757-March, 1762	ii + 662 pp.	(1880)
Vol. 12	May, 1762-October, 1767	ii + 698 pp.	(1881)
Vol. 13	May, 1768-May, 1772	ii + 689 pp.	(1885)
Vol. 14	October, 1772-April, 1775	ii + 534 pp.	(1887)
Vol. 15	May, 1775-June, 1776	iv + 617 pp.	(1890)

The principal item of interest for this bibliography is *Records of the General and Particular Courts, from April 1636 to December 1649*, printed in vol. I, pp. 1-203. The entries of the Particular Court are mainly mere clerk's entries, giving few details of the litigations. Each of the series has a separate index; in a few cases the index of names is separated from the subject index.

2. The Public Records of the State of Connecticut.

Published in accordance with a resolution of the General Assembly by Charles Jeremy Hoadly (vols. 1-3), Leonard Woods Labaree (vols. 4-8), and Albert E. Van Dusen (vols. 9-). Hartford: Case, Lockwood & Brainard Company, 1894-).

Vol. 1	1776-1778	iv + 653 pp.	(1894)
Vol. 2	1778-1780	iv + 607 pp.	(1895)
Vol. 3	1780-1781	ii + 625 pp.	(1922)
Vol. 4	1782	ii + 341 pp.	(1942)
Vol. 5	1783-1784	xi + 356 pp.	(1943)
Vol. 6	1785-1789	xv + 642 pp.	(1945)
Vol. 7	1789-1792	xviii + 647 pp.	(1948)
Vol. 8	1793-1796	xxviii + 605 pp.	(1951)
Vol. 9	1797-1799	xviii + 526 pp.	(1953)

Listed here as continuing the *Colony Records*. The volumes, however, do

not contain judicial records, being restricted to the acts and proceedings of the legislature at its sessions.

3. Records of the Colony and Plantation of New Haven, from 1638 to 1649.

Transcribed and edited . . . with occasional notes and an appendix by Charles Jeremy Hoadly. Hartford: Case, Tiffany & Company, 1857. viii + 547 pp.

Shows the New Haven court exercising commingled administrative, executive and judicial functions, dealing with the most diversified assortment of cases. There are no file papers, arguments of counsel, or opinions by the court, but in many instances the cases are set forth in a rather full and circumstantial fashion. The index is very largely by names, with a minimum of subject entries.

4. Records of the Colony or Jurisdiction of New Haven, from May, 1653, to the Union [1665], together with the New Haven Code of 1656.

Transcribed and edited . . . by Charles Jeremy Hoadly. Hartford: Case, Lockwood & Company, 1858. iv + 626 pp.

A useful continuation of the *Records* (1638-1649). There are more frequent references to actions by name ("defamation," "case"), including probate cases, and several instances of cases reported by parties' names (e.g., *Town of Milford v. Henry Tomlinson* [1656], pp. 182 *et seq.*) The index is very largely by names, with a minimum of subject entries.

"The editor has taken the liberty to omit a few passages, indicated in notes, containing details of evidence in criminal cases, for which he trusts no apology is needed." (*Preface*, p. iii.)

5. New Haven Town Records, 1649-1684.

[New Haven Colony Historical Society's *Ancient Town Records* Series] Edited by Franklin Bowditch Dexter. New Haven: Printed for the Society, 1917-1919.

Vol. 1 1649-1662 ii + 548 pp.

Vol. 2 1662-1684 ii + 457 pp.

Many of the entries set forth the circumstances in some detail, but there are no arguments or opinions. The index is chiefly of names, with some subject entries.

6. Records of the Particular Court of Connecticut, 1639-1663.

Published by the Connecticut Historical Society, and the Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Connecticut. [C.H.S. *Collections*, vol. 22] Hartford, 1928. x + 302 pp.

Reprints the records of 1639-1649 published in vol. 1 of the *Colony Records* (above, No. 1). Largely clerk's entries; no arguments of counsel or formal opinions by the court. The index is one of names, with very few subject entries.

7. **Records of the Particular Court of the Colony of Connecticut, Administration of Sir Edmond Andros, Royal Governor, 1687-1688.**

Edited by A[nnie] E[liot] T[rumbull]. Privately printed [by Case, Lockwood & Brainard Company] in Hartford, 1935. 43 pp.

Chiefly clerk's entries; no arguments of counsel or court opinions. There are only five very brief editor's notes; no index.

8. **The Superior Court Diary of William Samuel Johnson, 1772-1773,** with appropriate records and file papers of the Superior Court of the Colony of Connecticut for the Terms, December 1772, through March 1773.

Edited by John T. Farrell . . . Washington: The American Historical Association, 1942. [*American Legal Records*, Vol. 4] lxv + 293 pp.

The editor devotes sections of his Introduction to discussions of the court system, procedure and civil actions, criminal process, and Johnson and his contemporaries. There is a table of cases, and an index of names and subjects.

9. **[Kirby] Reports of Cases Adjudged in the Superior Court of the State of Connecticut.** From the year 1785, to May 1788, with some Determinations in the Supreme Court of Errors. By Ephraim Kirby, Esq. Litchfield: Printed by Collins & Adams, 1789. viii + 456 [486] pp.

The first volume of American law reports ever published. "Subscribers' names": pp. [483-486]

10. **[Kirby] Reports of Cases Adjudged in the Superior Court of the State of Connecticut.** By Ephraim Kirby, Esquire. Vol. 2. Published by the Acorn Club of Connecticut, 1933. ix + 53 pp.

11. **[Root] Reports of Cases Adjudged in the Superior Court and Supreme Court of Errors** from July A.D. 1789, to June, A.D. 1793, with a variety of cases anterior to that period, prefaced with observations upon the Government and Laws of Connecticut . . . By Jesse Root, A Judge of the Superior Court. Vol I. Hartford: Printed by Hudson & Goodwin, 1798. 584 pp.

The "variety of cases anterior to that period" includes cases from the years 1764 to 1789.

"Subscribers' Names" are listed at the end of the volume.

12. **[Root] Reports of Cases Adjudged in the Superior Court and in the Supreme Court of Errors, in the State of Connecticut,**

from June A.D. 1793 to January, A.D. 1798; being four years and a half, or, nine circuits. By Jesse Root, A Judge of the Superior Court. Vol. II. Hartford: Printed by Hudson & Goodwin, 1802. vi + 536 pp.

13. **A Digest of the Early Connecticut Probate Records.**

Compiled by Charles William Manwaring. Hartford, Connecticut: R. S. Peck & Company, 1904-1906.

Vol. 1 Hartford District, 1635-1700 xxxii + 669 pp.

Vol. 2 Hartford District, 1700-1729 ii + 711 pp.

Vol. 3 Hartford District, 1729-1750 xx + 794 pp.

14. **Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, 1874-**

The Wyllys Papers: Correspondence and Documents chiefly of Descendants of Governor George Wyllys of Connecticut; 1590-1796.

Notes of a special county court at Hartford, August 27, 1667

[*Collections*, vol. 21, pp. 164-168 (1924)]

County courts held at New Haven, November 13, 1667 and June 10, 1668

[*ibid.*, pp. 171-173, 174-177]

Bulkeley, Gershom. WILL AND DOOM, or the Miseries of Connecticut by and under an Usurped and Arbitrary Power (1692), [C.H.S. Collections, vol. 3]

The case of Mercy Brown, in the Court of Assistants, May 8, 1693, is noted at p. 233.

County courts held at Hartford, May 20, 1689, September, 1690, November 28, 1690, and, by adjournment, December 7, 1692, are noted at pp. 225, 207, 210, 264-266.

A court of oyer and terminer, at Fairfield, September 14, 1692, is referred to at pp. 234-235.

The Talcott Papers: Correspondence and Documents during Joseph Talcott's Governorship of the Colony of Connecticut, 1724-1741 (edited by Mary Kingsbury Talcott; vol. 2 [1737-1741])

Memoranda of A court of pleas held att Hartford, March 7, 1699/1700, a Court of Probates held at Hartford, July 5, 1714, and a Court of Probates, Hartford &c., May 3, 1727

[*Collections*, vol. 5, p. 292 (1896)]

The Fitch Papers: Correspondence and Documents during Thomas Fitch's Governorship of the Colony of Connecticut, 1754-1766. Vol. 1: May, 1754-December, 1758.

A Vice-Admiralty Court, October 25, 1754.
[*Collections*, vol. 17, pp. 45-46 (1918)]

The Pitkin Papers: Correspondence and Documents during William Pitkin's Governorship of the Colony of Connecticut, 1766-1769.

"Substance of a Conference held between the Superior Court of the Colony of Connecticut & Duncan Stewart Esqr Collr of his Majestys Customs at the Port of New London about Writts of Assistants the 31st March 1769," is published in:
Collections, vol. 19, pp. 184-187 (1921)

Maine

1. Province and Court Records of Maine.

Edited by Charles Thornton Libby (vols. 1-2) and Robert E. Moody (vol. 3). Portland: Maine Historical Society, 1928-1947.

Vol. 1	1636-1668	lxii + 352 pp.	(1928)
Vol. 2	1653-1679	xlvi + 559 pp.	(1931)
Vol. 3	1680-1692	lix + 330 pp.	(1947)

"The title of this [series] is sacrificed to the utilities of cataloging and citation; an apt title for its mixed contents, (starting with the records of the Province of New Somersetshire), would have been too involved." (*Preface*, vol. 1, p. vii)

Each volume has a useful preface in which there are discussions of the history of the records printed, the persons who made the records, and many aspects of the legal and political history of the period. Vols. 1 and 2 have separate indexes of names and subjects; vol. 3 has a single general index of names and subjects.

"Vols. 1 and 2 include the probate records before 1680, the Recorder then not having kept separate probate books; vol. 3, except for some entries of administrations granted, does not contain the probate records for the period covered, i.e., 1680-1692." (*Preface*, vol. 3, p. vii)

Vol. 2 contains records of the York County Court, 1653-1679, and the Court of Associates, 1658-1679.

A few scraps from these records were published as "Extracts from the Records of the Province of Maine, in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society for the year 1792* (Vol. I: Boston, 1792; reprinted 1806), pp. 101-104.

2. Collections of the Maine Historical Society. Portland, 1831-

Extracts from the Records in the County of York are published in Vol. 1, pp. 269-286. Vol 1 was reprinted with corrections and additions (William Willis, editor) at Portland in 1865. In the Appendix thereof docu-

ments in *Cleeves v. Winter*, from the record of a court held at Saco in 1640, are printed at pp. 532-542.

3. Documentary History of the State of Maine.

Maine Historical Society, *Collections (Second Series)*. Portland, 1869-1916.

This 24-volume set contains a considerable body of materials relevant to American legal history. A few of the "cases" are listed below, but a complete enumeration of all relevant documents is here impracticable, and recourse must be had to the indexes (largely of names) and to the chronological tables of contents. These latter offer a concise one-line description of the items published in each volume.

The Trelawny Papers [vol. 3 of the *Doc. Hist.*] (edited by James Phinney Baxter)

Cleeve v. Winter (1640), pp. 208-214, 225-242, 260-266, 269-272.

Mackworth v. Winter (1641), pp. 266-269.

The Baxter Manuscripts [vols. 4-6, 9-24 of the *Doc. Hist.*] (edited by James Phinney Baxter)

The case of Major William Phillips, at a county court, August 26, 1668, in vol. 6, p. 29.

Execution, and Return, in *Mason v. Rishworth* (1678), *ibid.*, p. 204.

Start v. Griffin (1686), *ibid.*, pp. 216-218.

Hodgkins v. Curtis and Askins (1781-1785), vol. 20, pp. 439-463.

4. Maine Wills, 1640-1760.

Compiled and edited with notes by William Mitchell Sargent. Portland: Brown, Thurston & Company, 1887. xii + 953 pp.

5. The Probate Records of Lincoln County, Maine, 1760-1800.

Compiled and edited for the Maine Genealogical Society, by William Davis Patterson. Portland: Printed for the Society, 1895. 368 + 53 pp. (index)

6. York Deeds, 1641-1735.

Portland, J. T. Hull [etc.], 1887-1896; [Bethel, Maine] 1903-1908.

Book 1	1642-1665	640 pp.	(1887)
Book 2	1665-1676	772 pp.	(1887)
Book 3	1676-1683	683 pp.	(1888)
Book 4	1683-1700	692 pp.	(1888)
Book 5	1680-1698	522 pp.	(1889)
Book 6	1686-1703	730 pp.	(1889)
Book 7	1704-1713	876 pp.	(1892)
Book 8	1713-1717	830 pp.	(1892)
Book 9	1718-1719	872 pp.	(1894)
Book 10	1719-1722	909 pp.	(1894)

Book 11	1722-1725	1093 pp.	(1896)
Book 12 (1)	1726-1727	696 pp.	(1903)
Book 12 (2)	1727-1728	677 pp.	(1904)
Book 13	1728-1730	1013 pp.	(1904)
Book 14	1729-1732	898 pp.	(1907)
Book 15	1733-1735	909 pp.	(1907)
Book 16	1733-1735	982 pp.	(1908)

"[Vol. 5] embraces two distinct parts: Part I, the earlier, was opened by Edward Rishworth, April 6, 1680 . . . with a record of a Court of Sessions of the Peace . . .; he continued his entries till July 7, 1686; . . . John Wincoll being chosen Clerk of the Court, December 20, 1689, filled in one entry, July 29, 1690, and continued the records till October 5, 1694. . . . Part II, pages 1-36 were kept by John Wincoll as Clerk of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas and of the Court of Quarter Sessions; and pp. 40-127 up to April 10, 1699 by Joseph Hammond as incumbent of the same offices . . ." (*Preface*, vol. 5, pp. 5-6)

Massachusetts

I. Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England.

Printed by order of the Legislature of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Edited by Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, M.D. [vols. 1-8] and David Pulsifer [vols. 9-12]. . . . Boston: From the press of William White, Printer to the Commonwealth, 1855-1861. 31 cm.

Vol. 1	Court Orders, 1633-1640	xv + 190 pp.
Vol. 2	Court Orders, 1641-1651	vii + 202 pp.
Vol. 3	Court Orders, 1651-1661	vii + 250 pp.
Vol. 4	Court Orders, 1661-1668	vii + 218 pp.
Vol. 5	Court Orders, 1668-1678	vii + 315 pp.
Vol. 6	Court Orders, 1678-1691	vii + 300 pp.
Vol. 7	Judicial Acts, 1636-1692	vii + 339 pp.
Vol. 8	Miscellaneous Records, 1633-1689	vii + 283 pp.
Vol. 9	Acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England (Vol. I: 1643-1651)	xxii + 237 pp.
Vol. 10	Acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England (Vol. II: 1653-1679)	xiii + 492 pp.
Vol. 11	Laws, 1623-1682	xii + 274 pp.
Vol. 12	Deeds, &c., 1620-1651	vii + 264 pp.

Each volume has its own index, chiefly of names, with some subject entries. Materials primarily relevant to this bibliography are mainly concentrated in vol. 7.

2. Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England.

Printed by order of the Legislature. Edited by Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, M.D. Boston: From the press of William White, Printer to the Commonwealth, 1853-1854. 31 cm.

Vol. 1	1628-1641	xv + 479 pp.
Vol. 2	1642-1649	vii + 344 pp.
Vol. 3	1644-1657	xiii + 510 pp.
Vol. 4 (1)	1650-1660	v + 518 pp.
Vol. 4 (2)	1661-1674	v + 647 pp.
Vol. 5	1674-1686	v + 615 pp.

"Additions made in the second printed edition of the Records of Massachusetts, and not to be found in the first editions" are noted and supplied by William H. Whitmore, in his *Bibliographical Sketch of the Laws of the Massachusetts Colony from 1630 to 1686* (Boston: Rockwell & Churchill, 1890), at pp. xix-xxiv.

"Records of the Court of Assistants . . . from October 28, 1641, through March 5, 1643-44" are published in Whitmore, *op. cit.*, at pp. xxv-xliii.

The *Bibliographical Sketch* also appears in Whitmore, *The Colonial Laws of Massachusetts, reprinted from the Edition of 1672, with the Supplements through 1686* . . . (Boston: Rockwell & Churchill, 1890).

3. Records of the Court of Assistants of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay, 1630-1692.

Printed under the supervision of John Noble, Clerk of the Supreme Judicial Court. Boston, 1901-1928.

Vol. 1	1673-1692	xviii + 588 pp.	(1901)
Vol. 2	1630-1644	xii + 289 pp.	(1904)
Vol. 3	1642-1673	viii + 306 pp.	(1928)

Vol. 3 was printed under the supervision of John F. Cronin, Clerk of the Supreme Judicial Court. This volume attempts "so far as accessible material allows, to fill the gap between 1643 and 1673, a period of thirty years during which no continuous or consecutive record is to be found, and to reproduce the doings of the Court, so far as may be possible, by a careful and thorough investigation which has been made in every quarter where anything bearing upon the matter was likely to be found. It is designed to give all copies of its records during this period between 1643 and 1673, which could be found either in the Suffolk Court Files, where many have been preserved, in the State Archives, among the files of courts in any of the other older counties of the Commonwealth, or in any record office within or without the Commonwealth, or that could be obtained from contemporaneous history, or any other authoritative source, — all to be brought together and arranged chronologically." [*Preface*, vol. I, p. xii]

Each volume has its separate index of subjects and names.

4. The Acts and Resolves, Public and Private, of the Province of

the Massachusetts Bay . . . with historical and explanatory notes, and an appendix. Boston, 1689-1922. 27 cm.

Vol. 1	Province Laws, 1692-1714	904 pp.	(1869)
Vol. 2	Province Laws, 1715-1742	1187 pp.	(1874)
Vol. 3	Province Laws, 1742-1757	1175 pp.	(1878)
Vol. 4	Province Laws, 1757-1768	1182 pp.	(1881)
Vol. 5	Province Laws, 1769-1780	1631 pp.	(1886)
Vol. 6	Private Acts, 1692-1780	245 pp.	(1896)
Vol. 7	Resolves, 1692-1702	851 pp.	(1892)
Vol. 8	Resolves, 1703-1707	931 pp.	(1895)
Vol. 9	Resolves, 1708-1720	756 pp.	(1902)
Vol. 10	Resolves, 1720-1726	819 pp.	(1902)
Vol. 11	Resolves, 1726-1734	888 pp.	(1903)
Vol. 12	Resolves, 1734-1741	833 pp.	(1904)
Vol. 13	Resolves, 1741-1746	786 pp.	(1905)
Vol. 14	Resolves, 1747-1753	824 pp.	(1907)
Vol. 15	Resolves, 1753-1756	873 pp.	(1908)
Vol. 16	Resolves, 1757-1760	858 pp.	(1909)
Vol. 17	Resolves, 1761-1764	709 pp.	(1910)
Vol. 18	Resolves, 1765-1774	899 pp.	(1912)
Vol. 19	Resolves, 1775-1776	1062 pp.	(1918)
Vol. 20	Resolves, 1777-1778	830 pp.	(1918)
Vol. 21	Resolves, 1779-1780	1012 pp.	(1922)

Each volume has its own full indexes of names and of subjects. The materials of primary interest to this bibliography are concentrated in the editorial notes of Abner C. Goodell, Jr. for the first two volumes of the *Resolves* (vols. 7-8). In these volumes the editor pursued a plan of annotation on a generous scale, reprinting copious excerpts from other bodies of official records related to the *Resolves*. The items particularly noticed below will afford some idea of Mr. Goodell's plan and efforts. It is to be much regretted that the responsible officials of the Commonwealth deemed it desirable, if not downright necessary, to adopt, for vols. 9-21, a very drastically curtailed policy of annotation.

Inferior Court of Quarter Sessions, Bristol County, January 14, 1695/6 (vol. 7, p. 492)

Gibson v. Gove (1695-96) (vol. 7, pp. 497-498)

Richardson v. Fowl, Inferior Court of Common Pleas, Middlesex County (1695) (vol. 7, pp. 498-500)

Turell v. Dyer, and *Cooke v. Paige*, Court of Pleas and Sessions of the Peace for Suffolk (1686) (vol. 7, pp. 508, 511)

A Court of Oyer and Terminer, at Northampton, October 21, 1696 (vol. 7, pp. 528-530)

Rice and Shepherd v. Brown and Minot, General Quarter Sessions of the Peace, at Charlestown, March 8, 1697/8 (vol. 7, pp. 586-587)

Rex v. Chubb, Superior Court of Judicature, Boston, April 27, 1697 (vol. 7, pp. 591-592)

Rex v. Ray, Superior Court of Judicature, Boston, November 7, 1699 (vol. 7, pp. 690-691)

Adam v. Saffin, Superior Court of Judicature, Boston, November 2, 1703 (vol. 8, pp. 269-271)

Cooper v. Stratton & Story, Superior Court in Suffolk County, 1702-1703 (vol. 8, pp. 295-298)

Gibson v. Gove, Middlesex County Court of Common Pleas, March 14, 1703/4 (vol. 8, pp. 309-310)

Keene v. Shepard (vol. 8, pp. 578-582, 698-699)

Report of the Justices of the Superior Court of Judicature, September 7, 1703 (vol. 8, pp. 320 et seq.)

5. [Lechford] Note-book kept by Thomas Lechford, Esq., lawyer, in Boston, Massachusetts Bay, from June 27, 1638, to July 29, 1641.

Edited by Edward Everett Hale, Jr. [and others], for the American Antiquarian Society. Cambridge: John Wilson and son. University Press. 1885. xxvii + 460 pp.

The *Note-book* contains full copies of many documents, contracts, letters, and pleadings. "It is the daily record of the work done in the office of the only professional lawyer in the colony." — *Introductory Note*, p. iii.

"A Sketch of the Life of Thomas Lechford," by J. Hammond Trumbull, is published at pp. vii-xxviii.

6. Essex County Court Records (1636-1641)

[Communicated by Abner C. Goodell] in *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute* (1865-1866).

Vol. 7: 17-19, 87-90, 129-132, 185-192, 233-240, 273-280

Vol. 8: 63-64, 123-128, 189-192

7. Abstract of the County Court Records of Essex County, Massachusetts, 1636-1693.

[Communicated by Perley Derby] in *The Salem Press Historical and Genealogical Record*, 2: 95-99, 190-192; *Putnam's Monthly Historical Magazine*, 1: 134-136; 5: 11-21, 195-201.

8. Essex County, Massachusetts, Court Records, Ipswich Term, 1659-1661.

In: *Genealogical Quarterly Magazine*, 1: 282-285; 2: 1-13, 128-148; 3: 26-42, 83-92, 161-166.

9. Essex County Court Records, June, 1677.

In: *Putnam's Monthly Historical Magazine*, 5: 202-204.

10. Records of the Court of Sessions, Essex County, Massachusetts (1698-1699).

In: *The Genealogical Magazine*, 4: 36-41.

Items nos. 26-30 are largely mere clerk's entries, with circumstances

of the cases being included in rather few of the entries. Nos. 26, 28 and 29 are unfinished items, as the periodical ceased publication. The genealogical interests of the editors or abstracters have doubtless influenced their editorial efforts.

11. Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts.

Salem, Massachusetts: Published by the Essex Institute, 1911-1921.

Vol. 1	1636-1656	viii + 502 pp.	(1911)
Vol. 2	1656-1662	xii + 506 pp.	(1912)
Vol. 3	1662-1667	ii + 534 pp.	(1913)
Vol. 4	1677-1671	iv + 513 pp.	(1914)
Vol. 5	1672-1674	ii + 501 pp.	(1916)
Vol. 6	1675-1678	ii + 517 pp.	(1917)
Vol. 7	1678-1680	ii + 489 pp.	(1919)
Vol. 8	1680-1683	iv + 502 pp.	(1921)

Each volume has a full index of names and subjects. Excerpts from the Commissioners Courts are published in the footnotes.

12. Probate Records of Essex County, Massachusetts (1635-1648).

In: *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute* (1914-1915), Vol. 50: 217-240, 313-336; 51: 57-80, 137-160.

13. The Probate Records of Essex County Massachusetts.

Salem, Massachusetts: Published by the Essex Institute, 1916-1920.

Vol. 1	1635-1664	xvi + 526 pp.	(1916)
Vol. 2	1665-1674	xii + 515 pp.	(1917)
Vol. 3	1675-1681	xiii + 490 pp.	(1920)

14. Essex County Notarial Records, 1697-1768.

In: *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute* (1905-1912):

Vol. 41: 183-192, 381-398; 42: 153-168, 245-256, 346-354; 43: 49-64, 223-232; 44: 89-92, 147-152, 325-331; 45: 90-96, 130-136, 212-220, 333-340; 46: 81-96, 114-128, 273-288, 325-332; 47: 124-132, 253-260, 333-340; 48: 72-78.

15. Kimball, James. *Gleanings from the Files of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace*, in *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute*:

Vol. 11: 74-80, 235-239; 13: 135-142.

16. Ipswich Court Records and Files, 1638-[1658?].

In: *Essex Antiquarian* (1904-1909):

Vol. 8: 1-13, 106-112; 9: 43-45, 124-134; 10: 32-37, 79-88, 170-179; 11: 22-28, 76-82, 118-136; 12: 116-121, 168-172; 13: 186-193.

Excerpts from a session in 1645 are printed in *Putnam's Monthly Historical Magazine*, 2: 173-176.

17. **Old Norfolk County Records, 1648-1681.**

In: *Essex Antiquarian* (1897-1909):

Vol. 1: 19-24, 49-50, 84-85, 113-117, 147-149, 178-181; 2: 11-15, 47-49, 81-84, 114-116, 148-150, 181-182; 3: 10-13, 42-46, 75-77, 108-110, 139-142, 171-174; 4: 9-12, 43-46, 77-79, 108-111, 138-143, 175; 5: 12-15, 46-48, 77-79, 133-138, 179-183; 6: 41-44, 83-86, 131-135, 171-180; 7: 30-36, 87-91, 136-139; 8: 38-42, 126-132, 175-179; 9: 137-141; 10: 89-92, 109-113; 11: 30-35, 172-177; 12: 81-86, 178-184; 13: 105-110.

Continued in: *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute* (1920-1934):

Vol. 56: 298-308; 57: 75-80, 155-160, 313-320; 58: 101-104, 234-244; 59: 90-96, 281-288; 60: 147-152, 229-232, 303-308; 61: 177-184, 353-360; 62: 12-16, 121-128, 298-304; 63: 45-48, 328-332; 64: 329-332; 65: 240-242, 448-450; 66: 182-184; 67: 170-176; 68: 88-96, 186-192, 359-370; 70: 147-167.

18. **Old Norfolk County Deeds, 1671-1689.**

Abstracted by Otis G. Hammond from the Record Book kept by Samuel Dalton of Hampton, N. H.

In: *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute*, vol. 49, pp. 23-36 (1913).

19. **Salem Quarterly Court Records and Files, 1637-[1659?]**

In: *Essex Antiquarian* (1899-1909):

Vol. 3: 81-86, 126-127, 156-158, 188-191; 4: 23-24, 58-63, 88-90, 123-126, 152-154, 184-187; 5: 26-29, 55-57, 81-91, 120-122, 169-173; 6: 24-30, 78-80, 107-111, 158-164; 7: 23-28, 81-84, 129-134, 176-183; 8: 82-88, 168-173; 9: 61-64, 154-159; 12: 66-77; 13: 28-34, 88-93.

20. **Suffolk County Court, 1644-1651. Notarial Records of William Aspinwall, Recorder of the Court, Nov. 13, 1644 until October 14/23, 1651. Boston Records, vol. 32 (1903). x + 455 pp.**

Copies of documents, accounts and inventories. The index is chiefly of names.

21. **Records of the Suffolk County Court, 1671-1680.**

Edited by Samuel Eliot Morison, with an Introduction by Zechariah Chafee, Jr. In *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Collections*, vols. 29-30. Boston: Published by the Society, 1933.

(Vol. 29: xciv + pp. 1-562; Vol. 30: viii + pp. 563-1233).

These volumes represent a high-water mark in the editing of American colonial legal records. The editor has supplemented the records with copious extracts from the relevant file papers, and Professor Chafee has contributed a valuable introductory essay. There is a most ample general index of names and subjects, and a separate table of references to the *General Laws and Liberties*. Absolutely definitive for the court and period covered.

22. Abstract and Index of the Records of the Inferiour Court of Pleas (Suffolk County Court) Held at Boston, 1680-1698.

Boston: Historical Records Survey, 1940. iii + 224 pp. Mimeographed.

23. Suffolk Deeds, 1640-1688.

Boston: Rockwell & Churchill, City Printers, 1880-1906.

Liber 1	1640-1653		824 pp.	(1880)
Liber 2	1654-1656	viii +	431 pp.	(1883)
Liber 3	1656-1662?	viii +	848 pp.	(1885)
Liber 4	1661-1664?	vii +	622 pp.	(1888)
Liber 5	1665-1668/9	vi +	627 pp.	(1890)
Liber 6	1668-1672		554 pp.	(1892)
Liber 7	1669-1672		575 pp.	(1894)
Liber 8	1672-1674		711 pp.	(1896)
Liber 9	1674-1676		861 pp.	(1897)
Liber 10	1676-1678		667 pp.	(1899)
Liber 11	1678-1680		854 pp.	(1900)
Liber 12	1680-1683		1083 pp.	(1902)
Liber 13	1683-1686		1173 pp.	(1903)
Liber 14	1686-1688		677 pp.	(1906)

24. Slafter, Edmund F. John Checkley; or the Evolution of Religious Tolerance in Massachusetts Bay. 2 vols. Boston: Published by the Prince Society, 1897.

The presentment of Checkley for libel, his speech at the trial, the argument of his counsel in arrest of judgment, and other papers from the proceedings in the Court of General Sessions of the Peace and before the Supreme Court in Boston, July-November, 1724, are printed in vol. 2, pp. 1-50.

25. Records of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace for the County of Worcester, Massachusetts, from 1731 to 1737.

Edited by Franklin P. Rice. Worcester, Massachusetts: The Worcester Society of Antiquity, 1882. 197 pp. (Vol. 5 of its *Collections*).

A brief editorial introduction reprints the act incorporating Worcester County and establishing courts therein. There are no arguments of

counsel, nor are there formal court "opinions". The index, largely of names, has some useful subject entries.

26. **Records of the Court of Nathaniel Harris, One of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace within and for the County of Middlesex holden at Watertown from 1734 to 1761.** Together with a paper by F. E. Crawford read before the Historical Society of Watertown, November 14, 1893. 135 pp. [1938?]

Clerk's entries, but the circumstances in these small causes are sometimes set forth in useful detail. The index is of names only.

27. **[Quincy] Reports of Cases Argued and Adjudged in the Superior Court of Judicature of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, Between 1761 and 1772.** By Josiah Quincy, Jr. Printed from his original MSS. in the possession of his son, Josiah Quincy, and edited by his great-grandson Samuel M. Quincy. With an appendix upon the Writs of Assistance. Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1865. vii + 606 pp.

28. **[Bradford] History of Plymouth Plantation, 1620-1647.** By William Bradford. In two volumes. Boston: Published for The Massachusetts Historical Society by Houghton Mifflin Company, 1912.

Although there are no "court records" (in the narrow sense of the term) to be found in Bradford, there are several "cases", *e.g.*, the affair concerning John Oldham and John Lyford (1624-25), I, 380-403, 413-419; the cases of Arthur Peach, Thomas Jackson, and Richard Stinnings, for murder and robbery (1638), II, 263-268; assorted criminal cases, and the "opinions" of the elders concerning certain legal questions therein involved (1642), II, 308-330.

29. **[Winthrop] The History of New England from 1630 to 1649.** By John Winthrop, Esq. . . . From his original MSS., with Notes . . . by James Savage. A new edition, with additions and corrections by the former editor. 2 vols. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1853.

Although there are no "court records" (in the narrow sense of the term) in Governor Winthrop's volumes, there are several "cases," among which may be instanced those of John Williams and William Schooler, murderers hanged at Boston in 1637 (I, *241-*243); the case of Nathaniel Eaton, schoolmaster, in 1639 (I, *309-*312); the case of Marmaduke Percy, arraigned for the death of his apprentice, in 1639 (I, *319); assorted cases of rape, and opinions similar to those in Bradford's *History* concerning confessions in capital causes, in 1641 (II, *45, *47); the case of *Dudley v. Howe* (title to a mill), in 1641 (II, *50-*51); the affair of Goody Sherman's pig, and its sequelae, in 1642-1643 (II, *69-*72, *115-

*119); *Lady La Tour v. Bayley*, concerning a charter-party, in 1644 (II, *198-*202, *247-*248); the matter of Anthony Eames at Hingham, in 1645 (II, *221-*233); a case of adultery, in 1645 (II, *249-*250); the matter of Hubbard, at Hingham, in 1646 (II, *255-*256; *Cleaves v. Jocelin*, in 1646 (II, *256-*257).

30. **Morris, Henry.** *Early History of Springfield.* An address delivered October 16, 1875 . . . Springfield: F. W. Morris, 1876.

The first lawsuit in Springfield, *Woodcoke v. Cable*, on November 14, 1639, recorded in the notebook of William Pynchon, Magistrate, is printed as Appendix B, at p. 55.

31. [**Hutchinson**] *The History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts-Bay.* By Thomas Hutchinson. Edited from the author's own copies of volumes I and II and his MSS. of volume III, with a memoir and additional notes, by Lawrence Shaw Mayo. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936.

"The Examination of Mrs. Ann Hutchinson at the Court at Newtown," November, 1637, is printed as Appendix II to volume 2, pp. 366-391. A number of interesting documents (testimony, confessions, etc.) from the witchcraft proceedings after 1692 are preserved in volume 2, pp. 19-47.

32. [**Hutchinson**] *A Collection of Original Papers Relative to the History of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay.* By Thomas Hutchinson. Boston, New England: Printed by Thomas & John Fleet, 1769.

Reissued by the Prince Society, in its *Publications*. Printed for the Society by Joel Munsell, at Albany, New York, 1865. 2 vols.

The opinion of Samuel Symonds, Assistant, in *Giddings v. Brown*, Essex County Court, 1657, is printed in volume 2, pp. 1-25.

33. **Chamberlain, Mellen.** *A Documentary History of Chelsea . . . 1624-1824*, collected and arranged, with notes . . . 2 vols. Boston: Printed for the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1908.

Both volumes include many appendices containing copious selections of unpublished documents from the courts of the Colony and the Province, relating to the controversies stemming from the will of Governor Richard Bellingham.

34. **Winthrop Papers.** The Massachusetts Historical Society, 1929-

Vol. 1	1498-1628	xxxii + 456 pp.	(1929)
Vol. 2	1623-1630	xxvi + 367 pp.	(1931)
Vol. 3	1631-1637	xl + 544 pp.	(1943)
Vol. 4	1638-1644	xl + 531 pp.	(1944)
Vol. 5	1645-1649	xl + 409 pp.	(1947)

35. **The Andros Tracts:** Being a collection of pamphlets and official papers issued during the period between the overthrow of the Andros government and the establishment of the second charter of Massachusetts . . . with notes and memoir of Sir Edmund Andros, [etc.] by William H. Whitmore. 3 vols. Boston: Published by the Prince Society, 1868-1874.
36. **Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. 1792-**
First Series:
 Law Cases, Supreme Judicial Court, Concord, Middlesex, 1795, are in vol. 5, pp. 45-52 (1798).
 The opinion in *Morse v. Reid*, United States Circuit Court, Eastern Circuit of New York, April 3, 1798, is in vol. 5, pp. 123-124. [Cf. *Fed. Cas.* #9,860].
Fourth Series:
Randolph v. Mather (1687) is published in vol. 8, pp. 792-704.
Fifth Series:
 The brief of Levi Lincoln in a slave case tried in 1781 is printed in vol. 3, pp. 438-442.
 Records in re *Estate of John White* (1684), from the *Trumbull Papers*, are published in vol. 9, pp. 123-140.
37. **Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts. 1895-**
 Davis, Andrew McFarland, "The case of *Frost v. Leighton*," in *Publications* (Transactions 1895-1897), vol. 3, pp. 246-264 (1900).
 Noble, John, "Notes on the Libel Suit of *Knowles v. Douglass* in the Superior Court of Judicature, 1748 and 1749," *ibid.*, pp. 213-239, 405.
 Noble, John, "The case of Maria in the Court of Assistants in 1681," in *Publications* (Transactions 1899-1900), vol. 6, pp. 323-335 (1904).
 Republishes documents from the Suffolk Court files.
 Noble, John, "A few Notes on Admiralty Jurisdiction in the Colony and in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay," in *Publications* (Transactions 1902-1904), vol. 8, pp. 150-185 (1906).
 At courts of Admiralty held at Boston before the Hon. John Menzies, Esq., February 25, 1718, July 11, 1719, March 29, 1720, and November 10, 1721; at Barnstable, February 4, 1720.
38. **Jones, Matt Bushnell, Thomas Maule, the Salem Quaker, and Free Speech in Massachusetts Bay.**

In: Historical Collections of the Essex Institute (1936), vol. 72, pp. 1-42.

Offers a circumstantial account of several court cases in which Maule was concerned, with excerpts from, and references to, manuscript records of the Suffolk County Court and the Records of the Superior Court of Judicature of the Massachusetts-Bay, 1686-1700.

39. **Toppan, Robert N. Edward Randolph**; including his letters and official papers . . . 1676-1703. 5 vols. Boston: Published by the Prince Society, 1898-1899.

From the corpus of official papers here printed, the following items may be instanced, as having particular relevance to the subject of this bibliography:

Libel of Randolph against the ship Expedition, December 24, 1680 (vol. 3, p. 87)

Deposition of Randolph against Nowell, May 2, 1682 (vol. 3, p. 129)

William Glanville's letter of attorney to Randolph, August 31, 1687 (vol. 4, pp. 169-170)

Proceedings against Wise and others of Ipswich for misdemeanors, October, 1687 (vol. 4, pp. 171-182)

Randolph's "Breefe in the case betwixt E. R. and I[ncrease M[ather]" (vol. 4, pp. 193-194)

Papers in the trial on the seizure of the brigantine Dolphin, in Chester County, Pennsylvania, August 17, 1696 (vol. 5, pp. 107-116)

New Hampshire

1. **Documents and Records Relating to the Province, [State and Towns] of New Hampshire**, from the earliest period of its settlement . . . Compiled and edited by Nathaniel Bouton (vols. 1-10), Isaac Weare Hammond (vols. 11-19), Albert Stillman Batchellor (vols. 20-31), Henry Harrison Metcalf (vols. 32-33), and Otis Grant Hammond (vols. 34-). Concord [Manchester, Nashua, etc.], 1867-

Vol. 1 Provincial Papers, 1623-1686. xii + 629 pp. (1867)

Vol. 2 Provincial Papers, 1686-1722 (Part 1).

vi + 764 pp. (1868)

Vol. 3 Provincial Papers, 1692-1722 (Part 2).

viii + 853 pp. (1869)

Vol. 4 Provincial Papers, 1722-1737. viii + 891 pp. (1870)

Vol. 5 Provincial Papers, 1738-1749. viii + 962 pp. (1871)

Vol. 6 Provincial Papers, 1749-1763. xii + 929 pp. (1872)

Vol. 7 Provincial Papers, 1764-1776. xxii + 799 pp. (1873)

Vol. 8 State Papers, 1776-1783. xxviii + 1006 pp. (1874)

- Vol. 9 Town Papers, 1638-1784 xli + 939 pp. (1875)
 Vol. 10 Provincial and State Papers, 1749-1792. xxviii + 719 pp. (1877)
 Vol. 11 Documents relating to Towns in New Hampshire, A-F inclusive, [1680-1800]. xxx + 812 pp. (1882)
 Gilmanton to New Ipswich, [1647-1800]. xxxii + 854 pp. (1883)
 Vol. 13 Documents relating to Towns in New Hampshire, New London to Wolfeborough. xxxiv + 858 pp. (1884)
 [Vols. 14-16 contain the Rolls of the Soldiers in the Revolutionary War, 1775-1782].
 Vol. 17 War Rolls, vol. 4. Part 1: Rolls and Documents relating to Soldiers in the Revolutionary War. Part 2: Miscellaneous Provincial Papers, from 1629 to 1725 [pp. 475-762]. xxiv + 819 pp. (1889)
 Vol. 18 Miscellaneous Provincial and State Papers, 1725-1800. xxxii + 982 pp. (1890)
 Vol. 19 Provincial Papers, 1679-1764. 760 pp. (1891)
 Vol. 20 Early State Papers, 1784-1787. 930 pp. (1891)
 Vol. 21 Early State Papers, 1787-1790. viii + 930 pp. (1892)
 Vol. 22 Early State Papers, 1790-1793. viii + 923 pp. (1893)
 Vol. 23 A List of Documents in the Public Record Office in London, England, relating to the Province of New Hampshire . . . by B. F. Stevens. 557 pp. (1893)
 Vol. 24 Town Charters, vol. 1. xvi + 973 pp. (1894)
 Vol. 25 Town Charters, vol. 2. xii + 835 pp. (1895)
 Vol. 26 Town Charters, vol. 3. xvi + 792 pp. (1895)
 Vol. 27 Town Charters, vol. 4. [*Masonian Papers*, vol. 1] x + 588 pp. (1896)
 Vol. 28 Town Charters, vol. 5. [*Masonian Papers*, vol. 2] x + 532 pp. (1896)
 Vol. 29 Town Charters, vol. 6. [*Masonian Papers*, vol. 3] xv + 678 pp. (1896)
 Vol. 30 Miscellaneous Revolutionary Documents of New Hampshire. xvii + 658 pp. (1910)

Materials relevant to this bibliography are scattered throughout this vast mass of published archives. The following are examples of the sort of items to be found therein:

Papers in *Mason v. Wiggin and Nutter*, for assault, 1685, are in vol. 1, pp. 578-582.

Allen v. Waldron, a Trial before the Superior Court of Judicature of the Province of New Hampshire, August 12, 1707, is in vol. 2, pp. 512-562. Notes of his Majesty's Court of General Sessions for the Peace Holden at Portsmouth September 4, 1753, December 4, 1753, and June 4, 1754, are printed in vol. 12, pp. 718-720.

"[A Case of Assault, 1731]" is in vol. 13, p. 10.

Livius v. Moffat at the Court of Appeals, is published in vol. 18, pp. 639-641.

Memorials from the Justices of the Superior Court, 1772 and 1774, are in *ibid.*, pp. 641-642, 654-655.

"Minutes of Court 1776-1780" are published, *ibid.*, pp. 707-709.

Permission to withdraw papers in *Hern v. Dow*, August 13, 1700, Superior Court of Judicature, is printed in vol. 29, p. 158.

The judgment of the Superior Court of Judicature in *Buswell v. Ordway*, June 5, 1754, appears *ibid.*, p. 301.

2. Probate Records of the Province of New Hampshire, 1635-1771.
[Vols. 31-39 of the *State Papers* series].

Vol. 1	1635-1717	xliii	+	874 pp.	(1907)
Vol. 2	1718-1740	xxviii	+	876 pp.	(1914)
Vol. 3	1741-1749	xxvii	+	815 pp.	(1915)
Vol. 4	1750-1753	xv	+	564 pp.	(1933)
Vol. 5	1754-1756	xiii	+	613 pp.	(1936)
Vol. 6	1757-1760	xvii	+	641 pp.	(1938)
Vol. 7	1760-1763	xv	+	513 pp.	(1939)
Vol. 8	1764-1767	xiii	+	483 pp.	(1940)
Vol. 9	1767-1771	xxix	+	527 pp.	(1941)

3. New Hampshire Court Records, 1640-

[Vols. 40- of the *State Papers* series].

Vol. 1 (579 pp.; 1943) Province Deeds Vol. I, 1640-1653 (pp. 1-103); Province Deeds Vol. 2, 1654-1673 (pp. 105-300); Province Deeds Vol. 5, 1674-1692 (pp. 301-421); Province Deeds Vol. A, 1673-1681 (pp. 423-450); Court Papers, 1652-1668 (pp. 451-545)

4. Collections for the New Hampshire Historical Society, 1824-

Province Records and Court Papers from 1680 to 1892 are printed in vol. 8, pp. 1-303 (Concord, 1866).

Papers in *Livius v. Gov. John Wentworth* (1772), are printed in vol. 9, pp. 304-363 (Concord, 1889).

Rhode Island

1. Records of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, in New England.

Printed by order of the Legislature. Transcribed and edited by John Russell Bartlett, Secretary of State. Providence, 1856-1865.

Vol. 1	1636-1663	x	+	549 pp.	(1856)
Vol. 2	1664-1677	iv	+	609 pp.	(1857)
Vol. 3	1678-1706	vii	+	595 pp.	(1858)
Vol. 4	1707-1740	iv	+	622 pp.	(1859)

Vol. 5	1741-1756	iv + 594 pp.	(1860)
Vol. 6	1757-1769	iv + 629 pp.	(1861)
Vol. 7	1770-1776	iv + 643 pp.	(1862)
Vol. 8	1776-1779	ii + 661 pp.	(1863)
Vol. 9	1780-1783	ii + 763 pp.	(1864)
Vol. 10	1784-1792	ii + 527 pp.	(1865)

Materials relevant to this bibliography are scattered throughout this corpus of basic records. Each volume has its own index, the basic approach of which is by names, with rather full descriptive entries, under each, although there are some subject entries in the primary alphabet.

2. Documentary History of Rhode Island.

Edited by Howard Millar Chapin. Providence: Preston & Rounds Company, 1916-1919.

Vol. 1 History of the Towns of Providence and Warwick to 1649, and of the Colony to 1647. x + 278 pp.

Vol. 2 History of the Towns of Portsmouth and Newport to 1647, and the court records of Aquidneck. x + 192 pp.

Aquidneck Quarter Court Records (1641-1646) are printed in vol. 2, pp. 132-165. The entries are of varying fullness; the index is of names only.

3. Rhode Island Court Records. Providence: Rhode Island Historical Society, 1920-1922.

Vol. 1 Records of the Court of Trials of the Colony of Providence Plantations, 1647-1662. 80 + viii pp.

Vol. 2 Records of the Court of Trials of the Colony of Providence Plantations, 1662-1670. 101 + xi pp.

No arguments of counsel, or court opinions; the indexes are of names only.

4. The Early Records of the Town of Portsmouth.

Edited in accordance with a resolution of the General Assembly, by [Clarence S. Brigham] the Librarian of the Rhode Island Historical Society. Providence: E. L. Freeman & Sons, State Printers, 1901. xii + 462 pp.

5. The Early Records of the Town of Providence.

Printed under authority of the City Council of Providence by . . . [the] Record Commissioners. Providence: Snow & Farnham, City Printers, 1892-1915.

Vol. 1	viii + 139 pp.	(1892)
Vol. 2	xxii + 220 pp.	(1893)
Vol. 3	xvi + 296 pp.	(1893)
Vol. 4	vi + 298 pp.	(1893)
Vol. 5	viii + 395 pp.	(1894)

Vol. 6	viii + 328 pp.	(1894)
Vol. 7	viii + 264 pp.	(1894)
Vol. 8	viii + 212 pp.	(1895)
Vol. 9	viii + 234 pp.	(1895)
Vol. 10	viii + 157 pp.	(1896)
Vol. 11	xviii + 216 pp.	(1896)
Vol. 12	vi + 115 pp.	(1897)
Vol. 13	x + 83 pp.	(1897)
Vol. 14	vi + 395 pp.	(1899)
Vol. 15	x + 300 pp.	(1899)
Vol. 16	vi + 534 pp.	(1901)
Vol. 17	x + 375 pp.	(1903)
Vol. 18	xxiv + 433 pp.	(1904)
Vol. 19	vi + 440 pp.	(1906)
Vol. 20	viii + 549 pp.	(1909)
Vol. 21	vi + 127 pp.	(1915)

Vol. 14 is Deed Book No. 1, 1664-1705. Vol. 15 is Providence Town Papers, 1639-April, 1682. Vol. 16 is Will Book No. 2, September 12, 1716 to January 7, 1728/9. Vol. 17 contains Providence Town Papers, April, 1682 to March, 1722. Vol. 20 is Deed Book No. 2, 1705-1711.

6. The Early Records of the Town of Warwick.

Edited in accordance with a resolution of the General Assembly by [Howard Millar Chapin] the Librarian of the Rhode Island Historical Society. Providence, E. A. Johnson Company, 1926. vi + 362 pp.

Brief entries of, and references to, disputes and controversies in the town, will be found scattered through these records. There are three quite full indexes: subjects, persons, and Indians.

7. Records of the Court of Trials of the Town of Warwick, Rhode Island, 1659-1674.

Transcribed by Helen Capwell. From original records in the Library of George L. Shepley. Providence: The Shepley Press, 1922. ii + 15 pp.

8. Records of the Vice-Admiralty Court of Rhode Island, 1716-1752.

Edited by Dorothy S. Towle. With an Introduction by Charles McLean Andrews. Washington: The American Historical Association, 1936. [*American Legal Records*, Vol. 2] ii + 595 pp.

The essay by Andrews discusses vice-admiralty courts in the colonies, and the editor's introduction treats of the Rhode Island Vice-Admiralty Court. There is a table of cases, and an index, largely of names, with some subject entries.

9. Chafee, Zechariah, Jr. *Records of the Rhode Island Court of Equity, 1741-1743.*

In Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Publications, vol. 35 (Transactions, 1942-1946), pp. 91-118 (1951).

A "preliminary report" of a manuscript now in the Rhode Island State Law Library; describes the general nature of the work of the court, and presents sixteen cases with interesting facts. The Littleton-Griswold Fund has in hand an edition of this manuscript for its *American Legal Records* series.

10. Wiener, Frederick Bernays. *Notes on the Rhode Island Admiralty, 1727-1790.* 46 *Harv. L. Rev.* 44-90 (November, 1932)

Appendix A (Cases), pp. 72-83. Appendix B (Forms), pp. 83-90.

Vermont

1. **Vermont State Papers**; being a collection of records and documents, connected with the assumption and establishment of government by the people of Vermont; . . . compiled and published by William Slade, Jun. Secretary of State. Middlebury: J. W. Copeland, Printer. 1823. xx + 9-568 pp.

Records of the Supreme Court, 1778-1782 are published at pp. 549-556. Mr. Slade appends this footnote: "The cases embraced in the records here given, have been *selected* from the *earliest* records of the Supreme Court."

A "List of Judges of the Supreme Court, 1778-1822" is printed at pp. 564-565.

Little more than clerk's entries, with no arguments of counsel or formal opinions by the court.

2. **[Chipman] Reports and Dissertations.** In two parts . . . by Nathaniel Chipman, Late Chief Justice. Rutland: Printed by Anthony Haswell, for the Author; 1793. 15½ cm. 296 pp.
Evans 25296

Part 1: Reports of cases determined in the Supreme Court of the State of Vermont, in the years 1789, 1790, and 1791.

Part 2: Dissertations on the Statute adopting the Common Law of England, the Statute of Conveyances, the Statute of Offsets, and on the Negotiability of Notes.

A second edition was published at Rutland, by Tuttle & Company, in 1871. 145 pp.

3. [Chipman] **Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of the State of Vermont.** Prepared and published in pursuance of a statute law of the state. By Daniel Chipman. Vol. I. Middlebury: Published by D. Chipman & Son. J. W. Copeland, *Printer*. 1824. 504 pp.

Cases from the period 1789-1797 are reported at pp. 37-139. A "List of Judges of the Supreme Court, from the year 1778 to the year 1824" is printed at pp. vi-vii.

4. **Gloucester County Court Records, 1770-1774.**

In: Vermont Historical Society, Proceedings 1923-1925 (1926), pp. 141-192.

Mainly orders by the court; no arguments of counsel or opinions by the court.

An Exchange Exhibition of Prints Between Italy and America

By ARTHUR W. HEINTZELMAN

ON January eighth of this year the Print Department of the Boston Public Library was asked by Signor C. E. Angeli, of the Administration of Antiquities and Fine Arts in the Ministry of Education in Rome, to organize an exchange exhibition of prints between Italy and the United States. Preliminary work has been completed and organized to a point where an announcement can be brought before the people of Boston and the print world. The exhibition, destined to travel through Italy, is a faithful picture of what is being done in the graphic arts of America today. It was selected by curators, museum directors and several prominent collectors from the important art centers of the country.

In reviewing exhibitions of the graphic arts over a period of the last half century, one realizes that there is a renaissance in print-making which has declared itself with an impetuous forward movement. As in the past, inspiration has come from the French artists, whose creative temperament has led the way by its inventiveness, imagination, and interpretative independence in developing new approaches to all mediums. The best of the American print-makers have emerged with work of individual and original achievement, notably in their use of serigraphy, woodcut, and color lithography. To say that this or that method is not within the genius of any particular approach is erroneous. The individual artist represented in this exhibition asks something special of his material, and he assimilates it so thoroughly that he can express himself unhampered. The high percentage of work in this comprehensive group of prints is creative; the artist's talent keeps him within a realm of expression, free from hindering influences.

This is the American half of an exchange exhibition between Italy and America, which not only demonstrates the originality of our living artists, but also denotes the ideas which have been an inspiration to print-making current in this country.

It is scheduled to be inaugurated in Rome next October. It will then travel for the next year or so to Naples, Palermo, Florence, Bologna, Carrara, Venice, Milan, and Turin.

The intention in organizing this collection of American prints has been not only to present the various trends of widely accepted schools of thought to the Italian art world, but also to achieve a more extensive representation than ever before. Unheralded artists of the younger generation, whose talents have been recognized, will have their work hung side by side with the well-known and established contemporary masters.

Visitors will not fail to be impressed by the wide range of subject matter and use of new techniques. In the work of a few artists one may find the technique of etching, dry-point, engraving, woodcut, and lithography in its purest form. Following chronologically, the next group, mostly in color, illustrates the strength of the new school, which has been dominated by the work of the French impressionists. Then comes a later school, which illustrates the tragic aspects of life, being perhaps dominated by the aftermath of the last war. After this, abstraction, in which the large woodcut, linoleum cut, serigraph, and lithograph are employed, emerges triumphant. Combined mediums, with emphasis on techniques and textures, abound in large compositions, which have now reached the stage of mural prints. One is struck by the vital and contemporary character of these. The emphasis on aesthetic experiment done in the privacy of the studio goes hand in hand with painting and sculpture, reflecting our present age of conflict, social and political unrest.

To explain in a measure the importance of print-making in America today, its possibilities and aims, a short survey of the work included in this group will be of great interest not only to ourselves but to the Italian art centers as well. The work in most part is the result of natural development, profound perception, and experiment. There is a great stress on technique, which quite generally captures the originality of the artist's mind, manifesting itself as the natural outgrowth of an earlier and profound apprenticeship.

The group of artists represented in the exhibition approximates one hundred and sixty. The younger generation, par-



"Laborer Resting," an Etching by Eugene Higgins

ticularly, constitutes an important factor in the development of the graphic arts in America. The process of dovetailing between old and new groups in recent years is remarkably demonstrated. This is perhaps due to the open-mindedness by which these prints were selected, new artists of talent being given an opportunity to be recognized.

There are so many bonds between nationality, subject matter, and artist that it is often difficult to decide which one owes to the other, and it is hard to know how posterity will decide the issue. With established individuality, brought about by a background of inherent creative force, it is impossible to conceive of these artists as other than being attuned to the cultural atmosphere of the American scene and way of life.

The artists represented in the exhibition have striven for something deeper than individual expressions, and have created a sense of unity among themselves far beyond the mere desire for personal recognition. One can understand and appreciate these prints without prejudice or limitation, for the results are in most part free from circumscribed formulas. The exhibition, in its various and wide aspects, will appeal to the interest of the artist, connoisseur, collector, and layman. It is hoped that the Italian people will find in this fine collection a source of inspiration and deep satisfaction, and that it will bring together the artists of both countries on a level of cultural understanding, out of which will grow a continued interchange of ideas and artistic communication. It is by these interchanges that one generation contributes to the next.

The Print Department takes pride in having been asked to organize this exchange exhibition. It could not have accomplished its mission without the generous spirit of coöperation of the artists themselves.

Notes on Rare Books

The French Version of Alciati's Emblems

AN emblem was in classic times a mosaic or piece of delicate inlay work. (The Greek word *emblema* is derived from *em*, meaning "in" and *ballein*, meaning "cast" or "put.") Today, if we use the term at all, we mean a symbol. In the late Renaissance a literature of emblems sprang up in Italy, spreading quickly through the Continent and England. These emblems were not simply pictures; they also contained a title and an epigrammatic verse. Like lute playing, the making of emblems was a pastime of educated men.

The first book of emblems as well as the first usage of the name are ascribed to Andrea Alciati, the Italian jurist (1492-1550) well known for his legal writings. The book, after it had circulated in manuscript for ten years, was published by Heinrich Steyner in Augsburg in 1531, and it went through at least ninety editions before 1600. It was brought out in Paris by Chretien Wechel in 1534, and in 1536 a French version, including the original Latin text, came from the same press. The volume, entitled *Livret des Emblèmes*, was dedicated to Philippe Chabot, Admiral of France. The translation was made by Jehan Lefèvre, Canon of the Cathedral of Langres; Mercure Jollat engraved the 111 woodcuts which were first used in Wechel's previous edition. The Library's recently acquired copy of this French version is a charming small octavo of 124 leaves, the Latin text printed in italics, and the French in bâtarde types. The red morocco binding with gold tooling is by Trautz-Bauzonnet.

"Embleme," wrote Francis Bacon in his *Advancement of Learning*, "reduceth conceits intellectuall to Images sensible." Here is one reason for the immense appeal this little book had in an age that loved allegory; for it is allegory in its most succinct form. One emblem shows a stork feeding its young. The accompanying verse expresses the idea of gratitude: when the young stork is full grown, it will in turn take care of its parents. Another represents the musician Arion, as he is cast overboard by the sailors who have robbed him during an ocean voyage; nearby a dolphin rescues the hapless man and carries him on his back to land, while he plays his lyre and sings. The illustration is equated with the idea that,

when a man is mistreated by his own, good fortune may come to him from strangers.

The classical borrowings of the emblemist were in keeping with the times. Among the mythical figures used by Alciati are Prometheus, punished by the eagle; Icarus, falling into the sea; and the Cyclops, at the mercy of Odysseus's great lance. The maxims, too, are typically Greek: He is at fault who rashly inquires into the secrets of the gods; it is presumptuous of man to try to break through the heavens; or, a just revenge is honorable. While some of the emblems may have come from Egyptian hieroglyphs, Alciati's sources were chiefly Greek poetry and history. The epigram gave him a model for his poetic form, while the myths and conventional moral sayings suggested his subjects. He drew extensively upon Ovid, Pliny, Aesop, and the anthology of minor Greek poets compiled by Planudes, the Byzantine grammarian and theologian. Many of his verses are simply translations from Greek into Latin.

The emblems have a charm which makes them attractive at any time. Didactic though they are, they are never sententious. In them wit curiously links ideas and images, and often there is a strange, lively humor, too. The adage "Immortality is born of difficult things" is illustrated by the picture of a comical dragon swallowing a nest of young birds. The connection with the moral, however, is real: this was one of the visions of Calchas, the Greek sooth-sayer and suggests the long struggle by which fame was won in the Trojan War. Another, depicting Renard the Fox, holding a handsome sculptured head, has for title "Intelligence is more important than beauty." A third, whose motto is "Peace", shows an elephant drawing a little ornamented cart through the streets of a city strewn with the broken gear of war. The verse begins cryptically:

La paix est excellente chose:
Et de dieux est ung don entier.

A bibliography of Alciati's Books of Emblems is long, for it includes both the Latin editions and the translations. Bernardino Daza first rendered the book into Spanish in 1540 (the Ticknor Collection has a copy of the 1549 edition); the first German translation was made by Wolfgang Hunger in 1542; and the Italian, by Giovanni Marquale, in 1549.

Alciati had many imitators. Spanish Jesuits composed new books of emblems to use in teaching religion. In Holland the taste of the people of the middle classes was for emblems of love. In England they were in fashion from 1586 until the close of the seventeenth

century. Wither, Quarles, and Ayer wrote English emblem books, which became widely popular, but which did not bring anything new to the form. A decided influence of emblem literature is seen in the work of the major poets. John Lyly found many of his figures of speech in Alciati; and in *Pericles* Shakespeare used emblems which he either invented or adapted from *The Heroicall Deuices*, an English translation of a work by Claude Paradin (—1573). The two swans in Spenser's *Prothalamion* remind one of emblems, as does the image, usually called "metaphysical," of the compass in Donne's "A Valediction Forbidding Mourning." Poets as unlike as Herbert and Jonson were interested in emblematic forms and borrowed them for religious poetry as well as for court masques.

The engraver of Alciati's emblems in the Library's volume was an artist who previously had made large anatomical drawings for a work on dissection by Charles Estienne. The woodcuts generally occupy half of the page. Some of them have the simplicity of heraldic devices: an armored helmet with swarming bees, a mermaid encircled by a serpent, or a leopard roving. Others are more elaborate. There is a competence in the modelling of the Cupid in his chariot drawn by lions or of the storm-racked galleon. The influence of Holbein is at times felt in the roundness of line and the sure composition. An example is the picture of Nemesis, a strong, slightly dishevelled lady, who travels with bridle in hand through a rough, bare landscape.

Enigma is proper to the illustrations of emblems, and most of those in the volume require an explanation. Yet a few tell their story at first glance, as the one entitled "Of Human Life." Here two men sit facing each other at a table; the jolly one is laughing heartily, while the melancholy man is wrapped dejectedly in his coat.

CORNELIA DORGAN

James Russell Lowell on Calderón

AMONG the miscellaneous documents in the manuscript division of the University of Alabama Library — as Professor Bernerd C. Weber advises us — there is a hitherto unpublished letter by James Russell Lowell, which expresses his views on Calderón de la Barca, the famous seventeenth-century Spanish dramatist and poet.

Lowell, who had been named to succeed Longfellow as the Smith

Professor of Modern Languages in Harvard College in 1855, was an ardent student of Spanish culture. His knowledge of Spanish life and literature was extended further when he accepted in 1877 the invitation to become United States minister to Spain. This post he held for virtually three years, performing his duties with notable success.

The letter is reproduced here in the original spelling and punctuation:

- Elmwood, 21st April, 1875.

Dear sir,

I would advise you much rather to take up Calderon, who is a truly great poet, than Lope whose chief merit is in his dramatic inventiveness. Calderon will stand by you all your life, while Lope is at best but pastime. Keil's edition of Calderon (four large octavos) contains all his *plays* & costs about twelve dollars. You can get it through Christern or Westermann in New York. Begin with one of his more intensely Spanish plays like the *Médico de su honra* or the *Alcalde De Zalamea* (Lessing's favorite), till you get used to the flavor & then you will be ready to taste his more imaginative ones, like *Toda la vida es sueño*. D. P. Macarthy has published three volumes of translations from him, two a good many years ago, & later the "Sorceries of Sin." The last is the only one I have read, & it is very well done. The volume contains also the *Devocion de la Cruz*. This & the "Sorceries" were *autos* & not in Keil's edition. You will never be sorry for getting intimate with Calderon.

It is always a pleasure to hear that one's old fellow students have not forgotten what a permanent good study is.

I remain

Very truly yours

J. R. Lowell

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THE Boston Public Library QUARTERLY

OCTOBER 1954

Daniel Defoe: Star Reporter

By JOHN ROBERT MOORE

IT is generally recognized that Defoe was the most original journalistic writer of all time. He was the first to emphasize intelligent news commentary in place of the bare recording of news items. He developed the leading column and the gossip column and the feature story. In his many travels he became the Government's most valued observer, and he supplemented his own observations by establishing an efficient system of gathering news through personal correspondents. He was one of the first and best police reporters. He worked out a method of censorship whereby Opposition journals were allowed to express the views of their editors and readers, with an implicit recognition of the fact that the Pretender's cause had failed and would certainly fail again. He wrote part or all of twenty-five different periodicals, besides hundreds of tracts on political, social, or economic problems of current interest. Even in his poems, his novels, and his writings on history and travel and education and popular superstitions, he managed to convey the facts of life as he saw them, so that he remains for us (as for his contemporaries) the chronicle of his time.

What has never before been realized is that he was in 1706-1708, during two stays in Edinburgh as agent for Queen Anne's Ministry in promoting the Union with Scotland, the star reporter for Fonvive's London tri-weekly, *The Post-Man*,

generally regarded as the best written as well as the most widely distributed newspaper of the age.

I

ON August 23, 1706, when Defoe was "exceedingly fatigued with this afternoon's struggle" to arrive at a final settlement with his debtors in spite of the personal animosity of a few of them, he wrote to Secretary of State Robert Harley about a large manuscript which had been sent to him from Scotland to be printed in London. This manuscript intimated that the proposed Act of Union would overturn the Presbyterian Establishment in Scotland, and that the English Dissenters would share in the ruin.¹ Harley was in a quandary about Scotland; on the very next day he was writing to a correspondent: "The world sufficiently knows how backward I have been to meddle with Northern affairs."² His own agents in Scotland (such as Netterville and Paterson) were calling each other blockheads.³ He was uncertain how far he could trust even Queensberry, the Queen's High Commissioner to the Parliament of Scotland, for he wrote: "the Duke may make himself the greatest man in Scotland by complying with the promoting of the Union, in which no man has more interest than himself, or he may let himself be ——"⁴

Harley was considered a procrastinator, but his decisions were so secretly arrived at that they often came like thunderbolts. Somehow — perhaps because of what he had heard of the intimate acquaintance Defoe had with Scotland — he decided to send him to Edinburgh as his trusted emissary. By September 13 Defoe was under orders to leave for the north without stopping for further conference with Harley. He used the precaution of adopting the travelling name of "Alexander Goldsmith," he rode with two horses, and he was so well armed with pistols that he had no fear of highwaymen.⁵ Most of all, he was armed with Harley's personal instructions, which have survived in a fragmentary rough draft:

1. You are to use the utmost caution that it may not be supposed you are employed by any person in England, but that you came

there on your own business and out of love to the country.

2. You are to write constantly the true state of how you find things, at least once a week, and you need not subscribe any name but direct for me under under [*sic*] cover to Mrs. Collins at the Posthouse, Middle Temple Gate, London. For variety you may direct under cover to Michael Read, in York Buildings.

3. You may confidently assure those you converse with that the Queen and all those who have credit with her are sincere and hearty for the Union.

3. [*sic*] You must shew them this is an opportunity that being once lost or neglected is not again to be recovered. England never was before in so good a disposition to make such large concessions, or so heartily to unite with Scotland, and should their kindness now be slighted ——⁶

But English weather was unfavorable for a messenger in such urgent haste. On September 22 Defoe wrote from Leicester that he had been "locked up" for forty-eight hours by the rain.⁷ On the night of September 30 "Mr. Alexander Goldsmith" arrived at Newcastle, where he drew money from Harley's agent John Bell, drank a bottle with him, and admitted that he was so publicly known in Edinburgh that it would be imprudent to go there under an assumed name. Bell — no man of letters — wrote doubtfully to Harley: "I have read part of a book under his name; it may be his own but be pleased to let that pass."⁸ Further conversation convinced Bell that Defoe was "a very ingenious man and fit for that business I guess he is going about."⁹ When Defoe attempted to depart on the morning of October 2, one of his horses failed; but after securing a replacement from Bell, he pressed on to arrive at Morpeth that night.¹⁰

As Defoe's next letters to Harley are all lost, we do not hear from him directly until he was writing from Edinburgh on October 24. But it seems clear that he had arrived there some time before October 12, the date of his first known communication to *The Post-Man*.

II

WE can not be sure just when or how Defoe's relations with Fonvive began. The two men had much to draw them together. Fonvive edited the best newspaper in London, his jour-

nalistic ideals were much like Defoe's, and he was one of the French Protestants (in whom Defoe had been interested from early manhood).

Defoe's first known reference to him appeared on March 18, 1704, in a bantering account of Fonvive's supposed appearance before the imaginary "Society" of the *Review*, on charges that he made up news when the posts were slow in arriving, that he wrote long speeches and answers for foreign diplomats, and that he abused the English language: "And here *Monsieur* had little to say for himself, but that he was a Frenchman, and he thought it had been good English, which trivial Excuse not availing him, he was Voted Guilty, and Recorded in the Register of Impertinence, *Fol. 6.*"¹¹

On September 19 of the same year Defoe professed that Fonvive was again in difficulty with his "Society." Someone had reported Fonvive for inserting verses in *The Post-Man* that had been stolen from Waller's poem on Oliver Cromwell. This time Defoe let him off with a slight reprimand and some very high praise:

the Author Professes no greater desire, than that willful Errors shou'd be avoided, and accidental Ones acknowledged; and that Gentleman being the most Careful, and most Authentic of any of our Writers, gives a Testimony of it, by owning that he has been abused, as any Man might be in the like Case.¹²

By April 19, 1705, Fonvive had won Defoe's favor so far that a group of supposed correspondents calling themselves "Legeon" wrote to complain that the *Review* exposed the errors of other newspapers but allowed *The Post-Man* to escape without censure: "*Perhaps there's a Pecuniary Understanding betwixt your Club, and this Gentleman.*" Defoe replied to this real or imaginary accusation by stating that the *Review* had overlooked more errors in other newspapers than in *The Post-man* and that Fonvive was above offering a bribe as the *Review* was above accepting one. He defended his refusal to print one attack on Fonvive on the ground that Fonvive published the best newspaper in existence:

'Tis true, he omitted the Publishing the first Letter on the *Post-Man*, because having narrowly observ'd, That the Author of the *Post-Man* was always the most careful of his Stile, as well as Mat-

ter, of any Paper now Publish'd, when he made any Slip, carefully Corrected it; and in short, Wrote both most to the Purpose, and most worth Reading of any Paper yet Extant, he thought it was not either worth the Societies while, or suitable to their propos'd Design of Reforming Errors, to Expose him for one Mistake.¹³

By March 31, 1711, Defoe was praising *The Post-Man* as the only newspaper which carried out his own ideal of interpreting the news:

I do not remember that any News-Paper, except the Author of the *Post-Man*, ever concern'd themselves to add to their Accounts proper Remarks, for letting the Reader into the Reason and Nature of the Things related —¹⁴

What is more immediately important for our present purpose is that on December 3, 1706, the *Review* named *The Post-Man* as the London newspaper which could be relied on to refute an anti-ministerial newspaper account of a tumultuous scene in the Scottish Parliament:

In like manner, the same Author in a paper of the 5th of *November*, is pleas'd to mis-relate a Story concerning some warm Speeches in the Parliament of *Scotland*; wherein a certain Gentleman spoke some Words, which were resented by the House, and for which he ask'd Pardon; those that please to have a true Account of it, may find it much fairer related in the *Post-Man*, of the same Date; and tho' I am sorry to give this Note upon the Case, yet I must own, when Gentlemen relate a Story, so as that those, which were upon the Spot and heard the Words, cannot know it again when they see it, such Partiality is too injurious to be allow'd.¹⁵

The Post-Man's account of this scene in the Scottish Parliament, like most of *The Post-Man's* news from Edinburgh while Defoe was in residence there during part of 1706, 1707, and part of 1708, was transmitted by Defoe himself.

III

DURING the fall of 1706 and in the years immediately following, Defoe was chiefly interested in the passage of the Act of Union and in its peaceful acceptance by the Scottish people. His observations on the subject can be traced in his voluminous correspondence with Harley, in the contemporaneous issues of

his *Review*, and in the longest book he ever wrote — *The History of the Union of Great Britain* (1709). We can follow them also in two poems (*The Vision* [1706] and *Caledonia* [1706]), and in some thirty prose pamphlets devoted to the issues which rose out of the Union. We can also follow them in Defoe's Edinburgh letters to *The Post-Man* in London, which can in turn be checked against contemporary accounts by other writers in such periodicals as *The London Gazette* and *The Daily Courant*.

As the official journal for the Government, *The London Gazette* seems to have leaned over backward to avoid giving offence. Anyone who depended on it for a detailed account of the sessions of the Scottish Parliament would get almost nothing of the sort. The reports from Edinburgh were extremely few, and those few were of a strictly official character. In Number 4270 (October 14, 1706) the two pages of the *Gazette* were expanded to four, to make room for an account of the first meeting of the Scottish Parliament on October 3, giving the Queen's letter and the speeches of the Lord High Commissioner and the Lord Chancellor in full. Number 4276 (November 4) gave a 17-line account of a riot in Edinburgh and how it was suppressed — obviously as a defence of the Government's use of force. Number 4299 (January 23, 1706/7) gave a 7-line account of how the Act of Security of the Protestant Religion and Presbyterian Church-Government within Scotland and the Act ratifying and approving the Treaty of Union were both touched by the Royal Scepter. It is apparent that the *Gazette* was far more concerned to avoid giving offence than to keep its readers informed of day by day happenings in Edinburgh.

The Daily Courant's reports from Edinburgh were extensive and frequent, sometimes providing news for days which were slighted in *The Post-Man*. Possibly Defoe's reports for those days reached London too late, possibly they were crowded out by Fonvive to make room for news of more immediate interest to Londoners, more likely Defoe regarded the events in Edinburgh on those days unworthy of special comment.

The most marked differences between the Edinburgh reports in *The Daily Courant* and *The Post-Man* are as follows:

1. Both make extensive use of the official Minutes of the Scottish Parliament, but *The Daily Courant* usually reprints

these verbatim — and gives nothing else. *The Post-Man* is far more likely to explain Scotticisms to English readers, to supplement the Minutes by personal observations and remarks, to condense the Minutes or to restate them or even to omit them altogether.

2. *The Daily Courant's* reports seem to have gone out as soon as the Minutes were available. It is clear that many of Defoe's reports were written on the next day, so that he was able to view the debates in retrospect and to report on the reaction of the populace.

3. *The Daily Courant* is inclined to reprint every minority protest, verbatim, as a matter of record. A reader might easily get the impression that the Scottish nation was turning against the Union. Defoe omits much of this material; and when he mentions a protest he is likely to point out that the protesters were few in number, that signatures were often secured by coercion, and that the protests themselves were always ineffectual. In this emphasis on the repeated defeat of the anti-ministerial forces, he gives a sense of the steady progress toward the accomplishing of the Union. To those who remonstrated against his omissions, Defoe (or his editor Fonvive) replies:

Some of our Readers are likely to complain, as they have already done, that we are too short in our Accounts of Scotland, because we do not insert the Libel mentioned in the Minutes, and therefore we think our selves obliged, for preventing any further Letters, or the like; to tell them, that as we shall take care to omit nothing material in the Minutes of the Scots Parliament, so on the other hand, we shall never presume to publish in England, Libels printed in Scotland, and burnt by the Hangman. The Government has forbidden to write against the Union, and whatever is published there against it, cannot tend to promote it in England.¹⁶

The Post-Man does not minimize the rioting in Edinburgh and Glasgow; but it suggests that the rioters are ruffians and idlers ("The Scum of the People"), tools of "the true Authors of this Uproar" who are afraid to appear openly against the Union.¹⁷ When seven of the Edinburgh rioters are to be prosecuted, it observes that they are boys, the eldest about sixteen years of age.¹⁸ When Finley and Montgomery are arrested as leaders at Glasgow, it discovers that Finley is a professed Jacobite¹⁹ and that neither man has ever been an army officer

as reported: Finley was formerly a malt-man and Montgomery a tailor.²⁰

4. There are some minor disagreements regarding the voting on certain measures, but I have found no pattern in this. Some sessions of the Scottish Parliament ran to late hours, and there were a few hasty errors in the counting of votes.

5. *The Daily Courant's* correspondent has no recognizable individuality, and he rarely uses a personal pronoun for himself. His rôle could usually be filled by a clerk who took pains to put the Parliamentary Minutes in the London mail. *The Post-Man's* correspondent is a consistent individual who deserves the personal pronoun which he often uses. He shares Defoe's special interests and his personal connections. For instance, he has an intimate knowledge of the proceedings of the Presbyterian Assembly.²¹ He seems to have sat up nearly all night to observe the rioting in Edinburgh.²² He is much interested in the taxes on beer and ale, regarding which Defoe was called in as a special adviser to the Committee.²³ He rejoices at the prospect of improving trade in Scotland:

Yesterday 5 Scotch Ships arriv'd from England, under Convoy of an English Man of War, a thing not very usual, and look'd upon as an Act of Kindness from that Nation, and an Earnest of what we expect in the future.²⁴

He sees (if he does not attend as an invited guest) the Duke of Queensberry's celebration of Queen Anne's birthday at Holyrood House.²⁵ Apparently he sees the annual horse race on Leith Sands, attends a dinner at Leith in honor of Queensberry, and returns homeward through the north side of the city while a furious fire is burning — surely a great day for such a lover of horse flesh, such a friend and admirer of Queensberry's, and such an observer of current events.²⁶ On March 25, 1707, he reports the passing of an Act of Dissolution of the Mines and Minerals belonging to his Grace the Duke of Queensberry;²⁷ years later Defoe told how he had once visited Queensberry's estate at Drumlanrig to advise him about the development of those same mines.²⁸

On April 3 *The Post-Man's* correspondent writes a glowing account of Queensberry's departure for London, concluding with the remark:

As our People begin to be sensible of the great Advantages they are to receive from the Union, and that they know how much his Grace contributed to this great Work, they have paid him at his departure all imaginable respect.²⁹

But on the same day Defoe is writing to Harley to tell how the Great Man in Scotland has honored him on the preceding evening:

Last night I waited on the Commissioner to wish him a good journey, and to take my leave. He received me very obligingly. He is pleased to say more of my small services here than I have a face to repeat, and has promised to recommend me to the Queen and to my Lord Treasurer.³⁰

On August 5 he reports, what Defoe loved to report from Scotland, a prodigious crop of corn.³¹ On October 22 he reports that the supposed poverty of Scotland is refuted when 600,000 dollars and ducatoons have been brought in to be exchanged for new money.³² On December 2 he reports another great fire in the northern part of Edinburgh, which (according to a favorite method of Defoe's) he estimates in terms of London: "they compute about 250 Families burnt, which may be esteem'd as in London, about 60 Houses."³³

6. *The Post-Man's* correspondent frequently stops to analyze the significance of measures, and sometimes he indulges in shrewd estimates of what will happen later, such as this: "all Questions have been hitherto carryed by such a Majority, there is no reason to fear this."³⁴ After the Act of Union has become certainty, he cannot refrain from a *Nunc Dimittis* to express his feelings: "this grand affair is brought, God be thank'd, to a happy conclusion, in spite of a vigorous opposition."³⁵ The next issue of *The Post-Man* has no report from Edinburgh, but it carries a prominent advertisement announcing the London publication of a poem which had already appeared in Edinburgh with a special license granted by the Lord High Commissioner and the Lords of Privy Council:

Tuesday next will be Published,
Caledonia, a Poem in Honour of Scotland and the Scottish Nation.
Dedicated to the Duke of Queensberry, her Majesty's High Commissioner; and wrote, as well to do justice to that Abus'd Country. as to let some Gentlemen in England know, the Scots are a Nation

worth Uniting with. By the Author of the True Born Englishman. Printed for J. Morphew near Stationers Hall.³⁶

The Post-Man's reports from Edinburgh ceased while Defoe traveled in Scotland and when he returned to London, but they were renewed in 1708. The unusually clear accounts of the attempted Jacobite invasion in March are mostly due to the full statements from the Government; perhaps Defoe's advice in London aided Fonvive in making better use of them than his journalistic rivals did. Soon Defoe was sent to Edinburgh by the new Ministry, and we find him writing to Godolphin from there on April 20. Again it becomes evident that *The Post-Man* has its own reporter in Scotland, and from June 18 until late September its news stories resemble Defoe's writing. Like Defoe is the explanation for English readers of "The Assembly, or Meeting of the Lords" and of "The Great Stone Buildings, call'd the Parliament-Close."³⁷ But so careful an observer ran an unnecessary danger when, after a dangerous conflagration, Jacobites and other opponents of the Union "industriously attempted to raise a Report, that the House was set on fire by some English Men, which was spread in order to incense the People against the English."

A student of Defoe is conscious of his presence throughout the Edinburgh correspondence in *The Post-Man* from 1706 to 1708; but on February 20, 1707, the author allows himself to come out almost into the open to rejoice over the discomfiture of a particularly cantankerous adversary.

One Mr. Webster, a Minister of this City, having written two Libels against the English Dissenters, the Proceedings of that Gentleman have been very much dislik'd by the other Ministers of this City, and Mr. Daniel de Foe being in this place, has fully vindicated the Protestant Dissenters in England, against the Aspersions contain'd in those Pamphlets.³⁸

But an agent for the Act of Union could not risk the loss of Scottish good will for so personal a triumph. On the very next day *The Post-Man's* correspondent wrote to London to give James Webster a comfortable line of retreat — if he chose to accept it:

We told you in our former, of two Pamphlets published against the English Dissenters, and that they were written by one Mr.

Webster: This was what all the Town said, but upon Enquiry, I must do that Gentleman Justice, and I do not hear that he owns those Pamphlets, which I believe are written by an Enemy of the Union, and would fain create some differences between the Church of Scotland and the English Dissenters. If I can hear any other particulars, I shall acquaint you therewith.³⁹

Unless Defoe's gesture is to be taken as an added stroke of irony, it expresses a generous willingness to allow a beaten adversary to escape from the field. But when a writer is at the same time a star reporter, a pamphleteering controversialist, and a secret agent for the Government, he must expect — at times — to be required to make some concessions to his adversaries.

Notes

1. *Portland MSS.*, IV, 323.
2. *Ibid.*, IV, 324.
3. *Ibid.*, IV, 325.
4. *Ibid.*, IV, 324.
5. *Ibid.*, IV, 327.
6. *Ibid.*, IV, 334.
7. *Ibid.*, IV, 331.
8. *Ibid.*, IV, 335.
9. *Ibid.*, IV, 336.
10. *Ibid.*, IV, 336.
11. *Review*, I, 35-36.
12. *Ibid.*, I, 244.
13. *Ibid.*, II, 79.
14. *Ibid.*, VIII, 11.
15. *Ibid.*, III, 574.
16. *The Post-Man*, Dec. 7, 1706.
17. *Ibid.*, October 31, 1706.
18. *Ibid.*, November 26, 1706.
19. *Ibid.*, December 21, 1706.
20. *Ibid.*, December 28, 1706.
21. *E. g.*, *Ibid.*, October 22, 1706; November 2, 1706; November 23, 1706; August 30, 1707.
22. *Ibid.*, October 31, 1706.
23. *Ibid.*, December 5, 1706; *The History of the Union of Great Britain* (1707), "An Abstract of the Proceedings . . . with Observations," pp. 95-97.
24. *The Post-Man*, January 16, 1707.
25. *Ibid.*, February 13, 1707.
26. *Ibid.*, March 20, 1707.
27. *Ibid.*, April 1, 1707.
28. *A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1724-1727), III, Part II, 61-62.
29. *The Post-Man*, April 10, 1707.
30. *Portland MSS.*, IV, 398.
31. *The Post-Man*, August 12, 1707.
32. *Ibid.*, October 30, 1707.
33. *Ibid.*, December 13, 1707.
34. *Ibid.*, November 5, 1706.
35. *Ibid.*, January 23, 1707.
36. *Ibid.*, January 25, 1707.
37. *Ibid.*, June 26, 1708; September 4, 1708.
38. *Ibid.*, February 27, 1707.
39. *Ibid.*, March 1, 1707.

The *Celestina* of 1502

By LOUIS UGALDE

SOME critics have remarked that Spain did not have a Renaissance. However, this kind of thinking is the result of a too limited point of view as to what "Renaissance" means. Generally speaking, Spain did not participate in one important aspect of the movement — the disregarding of religion; but the word means rebirth, and there can be no doubt that Spain enjoyed a rebirth of her culture and spirit. The Spanish Renaissance was really a prolongation of the Middle Ages. Like the other countries, Spain took its new models from antiquity, but she imbued them with her own Castilian spirit. The best example of this characteristic of the Spanish Renaissance is Fray Luis de León, who was able to interpret the ancient classic poets freely from a theological point of view, giving them allegorical meaning or deducing rationalistic conclusions. He represents a perfect synthesis of Hebraism, classicism, Italianism, Christianity, an ostensibly impossible combination. And there is a masterpiece nascent enough to satisfy the most fastidious critics — *La Celestina*, by Fernando de Rojas.

The Boston Public Library has acquired a copy of one of the earliest and rarest editions of *La Celestina*, the one printed at Seville in 1502. Indeed, the Ticknor Collection offers the research scholar an exceptionally rich and varied assortment of editions of the work, both in Spanish and in translation. It has the Italian translations published in Venice in 1525 and 1541; Spanish editions published in Venice 1534, Antwerp 1539, Saragossa 1545, Salamanca 1570, Alcalá 1586, Antwerp 1595; a Latin version published in Frankfort in 1624; an edition with Spanish and French in opposite columns issued in Rouen in 1633.

THE story involves the love affair of Calisto and Melibea. Calisto, of noble aspect and lineage, follows his falcon into a garden, where he sees for the first time Melibea, a beautiful

damsel of higher social standing than himself. He talks to her, but is shunned curtly by the offended maiden. Calisto retires in despair, and talks over the matter with his servant Sempronio, who promises to enlist the aid of Celestina, a repulsive old witch who knows more tricks than Satan himself. Attracted by what promises to be a lucrative reward, she agrees to help. Pármene, another of Calisto's servants, at first advises his master against employing Celestina, but the old witch wins him over, using Areusa, one of her "girls," as bait. Celestina then gains entrance to Melibea's house by pretending to sell thread, needles, and other like articles. After many circumlocutions, she brings up Calisto's name. Melibea waxes indignant and dismisses the old bawd, who leaves more confident than ever. To be sure, the next time she is received cordially, and this time she manages to play on the maiden's sympathy and arranges a meeting for the lovers. The first meeting is limited to a declaration of love, and Melibea's promise to open her door to him the next night. As part payment for her assistance, Calisto gives Celestina a gold chain, which Sempronio and Pármene claim is partly theirs. When the old hag refuses to share her booty, the servants get angry and kill her, whereupon they are promptly put to death by the townspeople. After a brief second encounter the lovers meet for a third time. Areusa and Elicia, another of Celestina's girls, desirous of avenging her murder, decide to foil the lovers by arranging a band of ruffians to surprise them. In the excitement Calisto tries to flee over a wall, but misses a step, falls to the ground, and is killed. In her despair, Melibea climbs to the top of the tower, relates the entire tragic story to her father below, and hurls herself to her death.

One might ask if *La Celestina* really is Renaissance literature, or whether it reveals the same negation of life as does classic Spanish literature in general. Some critics have seen a medieval moral purpose behind the work. The eminent critic Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo wondered whether the obvious confusion of ideas was not the reflection of the personal confusion of the author, a Jew converted to Christianity.¹ He finally concluded that the profanations found in *La Celestina* were probably the result of the general anarchy prevalent in Castile in that era.

The blasphemous statements by Calisto about seeing the grandeur of God in endowing Nature with power to give Melibea such beauty, and about preferring the vision of her to the celestial vision of the other world, show the influence of humanism and give the work an autonomous concept of life. Every one of its characters tries to penetrate the enigma of the universe in his own way. Unable to endure separation from her lover, Melibea takes her own life, which was unheard of in Christian literature. This does not mean that *La Celestina* represents a break with the Middle Ages; on the contrary, its subtle mixture of the old and the new is its chief charm.

Very often, however, the opposing themes are not fused but merely juxtaposed, representing two epochs, medieval as well as Renaissance, and two planes of life, the idealistic and the realistic. The breakdown of the harmonic structure of the Middle Ages is in itself an important aspect of the Renaissance, and of the rise of a new form of literature in Europe. The limiting notion of sin becomes secondary, and Nature assumes independence. Celestina urges Areusa to let others enjoy her, for nature makes use of everything and everybody; and Melibea complains about the obstacles that prevent her joy with Calisto. A logical development of this autonomy of Nature is an affirmation of subjective and human powers. Sempronio debunks the common notion that honor derives from the merit of ancestors, and pronounces that every one is the author of his own deeds and of his own honor. Nothing reflects the new humanism better than this declaration of one's own worth. No longer is man merely something affected by exterior forces, but an entity that moves and acts of his own accord.

When Melibea asks Celestina what love is, the answer is a typical Renaissance definition: "It is a hidden fire, a pleasant thorn, a tasty poison, a sweet bitterness, a delectable pain, a joyful torture, a sweet and savage wound, a soft death."² It is obvious that the people of the play give themselves up to the impulses of full living, without caring which rules have been broken. The Middle Ages had inflexible ideas of the relationship between social classes: nobles, clerics, servants. This is questioned by the servants in *La Celestina*, presaging a new epoch in which the traditional order will be revised.

La Celestina was not meant to be staged, and yet Rojas wrote with a dramatic ideal. He was familiar with the Latin comedies of Terence and Plautus and their imitators, and tried to surpass them in a new concept of love, life, and art. He achieved all this with methods, situations, and characters which are primarily dramatic rather than novelistic. *La Celestina* is not mere dialogue, nor a series of satirical dialogues. It was conceived as a grandiose tragicomedy, and its dramatic dialogue is a vivid representation of human conversations in which the comic and the tragic alternate. The creation of this entirely new form of dialogue is one of the chief merits of the book. Some have called it a dramatic novel, but this seems inexact as a novel narrates and there is no narration here. Yet Menéndez Pelayo feels that he cannot omit it from a study of the novel.³ *La Celestina* offered a basis for both the novel and the drama.

THE first edition of *La Celestina* known to us was published in 1499 in Burgos. One must assume that there was an earlier edition, since the 1499 bears the phrase "with the arguments newly added." The title is *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea* and the work contains sixteen acts, a general "argumento," and a summary of each act. The only known copy of this edition is the Heber copy.⁴ The next edition came out in Seville in 1501, with the same title and summaries. It includes, in addition, a letter from the author to a friend; an acrostic poem which states that Bachiller (student) Fernando de Rojas, who was born in "la puebla de Montalbán," is the author; and six "octavas" by the editor, Alonso de Proaza. One of the "octavas" offers a key to the acrostics. This edition was probably based on the 1499 Burgos edition.

The next edition, Seville 1502 — to which the Library's copy belongs — is most significant. Up to then the title had been *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea*, and the work consisted of sixteen acts. The title of the 1502 edition is *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea*, with five new acts; new material added to fifteen of the sixteen original acts (the first act was not reworked); a new prologue; and three new "octavas" by Proaza, who prepared the edition. The Library's copy is in excellent condition.

It was bound by Lloyd of London in blue crushed Levant morocco, and the bookplate reads, "Ex libris Jacobi P. R. Lyell." The typography impresses one as Spanish, the types being almost identical with those of Stanislaus Polonus of Seville. The large woodcut on the title page is typically Spanish. The twenty-three smaller woodcuts, made up of several blocks, are similar to those used by Grüniger at Strassburg, notably in his *Terence* and *Horace*. Almost every page of the copy is covered with contemporary notes in Italian. However, these notes are mere translations. Curiously enough, the "octava" which contains the key to the acrostics has been omitted from the Library's copy. This must have been a deliberate omission since it is number five in a series of six.

In a subsequent edition another act, bringing the total number to twenty-two, was added; but this was so obviously an incompatible appendage that it had been dropped again from the 1514 Valencia edition.⁵ The short title, *La Celestina*, was first used in the Alcalá edition of 1569.

The question has often been asked: did Fernando de Rojas actually live and write *La Celestina*? As late as 1900 Foulché-Delbosc still doubted the existence of Rojas, mocking credulous Spanish critics for putting too much faith in the famous acrostics. In 1902, however, Manuel Serrano y Sanz dispelled all doubt with his booklet on Fernando de Rojas.⁶ While working at the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, he came across records of Inquisition trials. One, dated 1525, against one Alvaro de Montalbán revealed the name of Fernando de Rojas as the author of "La Melibea" and the son-in-law of the accused. Even so, little is known about Rojas. Apparently he was of Jewish origin, the son of a Christian mother and Jewish father, who when converted took his father-in-law's name.

In his "letter to a friend" Rojas states that he wrote *La Celestina* during a vacation, probably from the University of Salamanca, at the age of twenty or twenty-four. It has been argued that such a masterpiece could not have been written by a student. But genius belongs to no age in particular. Good critical sense requires years of development, but in art intuition can, and often does, take the place of experience. None of the characters in the play were actually outside Rojas's world;



Tragicomedía de Calisto y Meli-
 bea: en la qual se contiene de mas
 de su agradable ⁊ dulce estilo mu-
 chas sentencias filosofales: ⁊ au-
 sos muy necessarios para mance-
 bos: mostrandoles los engaños q̃
 estan encerrados en seruietes ⁊
 alcabuetas: ⁊ nueuamente añadi-
 do el tractado de Centurio.

Title-Page of Celestina, Seville 1502 (?)

he undoubtedly continually observed such types in Salamanca and Toledo. Besides, the work has a university atmosphere. It is a humanistic comedy, much like the fifteenth-century Latin comedies by Italians which were widely read in the universities.

There is no reason why Rojas could not have written *La Celestina* while a student at Salamanca. Many passages of the book are quite similar to passages from these Latin comedies — almost every paragraph has something reminiscent of them. But this was hardly plagiarism since the originals were altogether too well-known. Rojas may have wanted his important ideas corroborated by words of famous authors. To accomplish this end, he made use of all his readings at the university, especially of such classical authors as Seneca and Aristotle. Thus, his work may be considered a drama, or a novel in action, the origin of which is a general imitation of Terence's comedies, and the characters of which corroborate their assertions with the moral sayings of the ancient philosophers. This fusion of dramatic and didactic elements has been done so expertly that, to point it out clearly, a lengthy analysis of the sources of *La Celestina* has been necessary.

A glance at this analysis by Castro Guisasola reveals a plethora of Greek, Latin, ecclesiastical, Italian, and Spanish sources. Among the principal Greek and Latin authors who influenced Rojas, in addition to those already mentioned, were Virgil, Ovid, Plautus, and Boethius.⁷ His two principal Italian sources were Petrarch and Boccaccio. The long list of Spanish writers includes Alfonso X, Pero López de Ayala, Juan de Mena, Rodrigo de Cota, Jorge Manrique, the Arcipreste de Hita, and many others. These many names are indicative of the fusion of medieval and Renaissance elements in the work and in Spanish Renaissance literature in general.

A NUMBER of interesting problems have arisen over the authorship of *La Celestina*. An important one concerns the first act, which Rojas claims to have found already written and to have merely continued. The first act is much longer than any of the others, and it is the only one not retouched and expanded in the 1502 edition. It seems almost as if Rojas did not want to

change another's work, and yet it is possible that he did this deliberately to strengthen his story of another author doing the first act.

In the first version of the "letter to a friend" Rojas writes that the first act reached him anonymously. In the second version — that is, from 1502 on — he attributes it to either Juan de Mena or Rodrigo Cota. These two names also appear in the acrostics from 1502 on. However, even a casual perusal of Mena's pedantic and euphuistic prose, heavily fraught with inversions and Latinisms, reveals that he could not have written any part of *La Celestina*. Rojas himself was perhaps the best judge of the fact that Mena's prose was most unlike that of the play. The question of Cota's authorship is more difficult to decide, since no prose by him has been preserved. However, there is a wide gap between his simple, allegorical dialogues in verse and the detached objective vision of the world in *La Celestina*.

All critics worthy of note agree that the original sixteen acts were written by one man. Menéndez Pelayo feels that Rojas's vacillation about Mena or Cota at a time when the matter could have been settled easily — Cota's wife and children were still living in Toledo, only five leagues from Montalbán — is rather suspicious. Also Rojas's claim that he wrote the play in only fifteen days suggests some doubt about the veracity of the letter. Even Lope de Vega, author of nearly two thousand comedies, did not write his best works at such a speed. Besides, Lope had dramatic models before him and a public to spur him on; Rojas had neither. Perhaps Rojas did not think *La Celestina* was completely proper for a legal student. Perhaps he was following the practice of the writers of the novels of chivalry, who pretended they had translated from Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, and so on. Perhaps, as a new author, he was timid about revealing himself. The 1499 edition was published anonymously, and only after it became successful was his name disclosed in the acrostics.

The homogeneity of style throughout the play is now so obvious that one wonders how this could be so if the work were by two authors, with twenty or thirty years between the writing of the first act and the rest, precisely at a time when Spanish prose was undergoing great changes. For a second writer to identify himself so closely with the first would be one of the marvels of literature. The

presence of a new author can always be detected, as for example in the spurious *Don Quixote* by Avellaneda. There is no real difference, however, between Calisto, Melibea, and Celestina in the first and the subsequent acts. There is not the slightest attenuation or affectation, as is usually the case when two authors are at work. On the contrary, the first act represents the germ of the entire work, and the other acts are a logical and unified development.

Another fascinating problem concerns the authorship of the five additional acts and of the additional material in fifteen acts. The five acts, added in the 1502 and subsequent editions, run from the middle of Act XIV to the middle of Act XIX. The interpolation occurs at the point of the lovers' second meeting (the last one in the earlier editions). Thus, instead of getting killed at that time, Calisto is able to flee, and the love affair is prolonged. Cejador y Frauca, who believes that the original sixteen are by one author, is convinced that the additional acts and material are by someone else.⁸ He points out a number of contradictions in the subsequent editions of the letter and the other preliminary material. In the first printing of the letter the author declares he does not want to reveal his name, and then does it in the acrostics. In contrast to Menéndez Pelayo's belief that this was due to timidity, Cejador insists that the editor Proaza wrote the original letter and acrostics, as well as the six "octavas," for the 1501 edition, then retouched the letter and the acrostics (brought in Mena and Cota), added three "octavas," changed the title to *Tragicomedia*, wrote the five new acts, expanded the other fifteen, and wrote a prologue which alludes to the expansion — all for the 1502 edition.

According to Cejador, this prologue is a pale imitation of Petrarch's for the second book of his *De Remediis utriusque fortunæ*, and not at all in keeping with the spirit and style of *La Celestina*. Since the prologue explains the expansion in the 1502 edition and he believes that Proaza wrote it, Cejador concludes that Proaza must have written the five acts and the extra material in the other acts. He insists that the five acts are quite different from, and quite inferior to, the rest of the work. He thinks that the five are useless and episodic. Menéndez Pelayo, on the other hand, is equally firm that the additions are by

Rojas. He sees Rojas trying to improve his work and lengthening the love affair by one month, probably at the instance of his friends. Many authors have redone their masterpieces, and, needless to say, the revisions are not always improvements.

Dramatically speaking, the five acts add nothing to the principal action. Elicia and Areusa plot their revenge on the lovers for the murder of Celestina, but the ending remains the same. Calisto is killed when he falls off the wall, and Melibea plunges to her suicidal death, just as in the sixteen-act version. If Centurio and his gang had succeeded in killing Calisto, two or three of the acts would be defensible. Yet the work would lose something without the added acts. They introduce Centurio, the professional, cowardly braggart, one of the most vivid and best planned figures of the entire book — Centurio, called so not because he is captain of a hundred men, but for being pander to a hundred women. He is the Spanish "Miles gloriosus," long on words and short on deeds. Furthermore these five acts contain poetic passages of the highest calibre which no one but Rojas could have written at that time.

The additions to the other acts involve an exaggerated use of the proverbs and popular sayings, which were already in abundance. Sometimes it is mere repetition or paraphrase, but sometimes the additions are of real significance, as for example, Celestina's moralizing in Act IV, or Areusa's remarks in Act IX about the sad plight of servants. The same critics who believe the additional acts and material are by another author regard these additions as pedantic and affected. However, it was easy for Rojas to fall into redundancy, examples of which can be found throughout the original sixteen acts. In other words, the style in the appendages is not different from that of the original part. Rojas must have written it all.

THE question as to when and where *La Celestina* was written has perplexed critics. Neither can be determined definitely. The phrase "ganada es Granada" (Granada is won), spoken by Sempronio, is usually cited to prove that the play dates after 1492, the year of the reconquest of Granada. However, the phrase may have been used before the actual fall of the city,

in anticipation of it and referring to the difficulty of the struggle. Menéndez Pelayo thinks the play was written before 1492.

The place of origin is even more indefinite. The author speaks of the navigable river, and it has been claimed that Seville is the setting. However, Rojas does not seem to know Southern Spain very well; he never mentions Andalusian customs. Foulché-Delbosc has suggested Toledo, but the Tagus was not navigable at that time. The university atmosphere would indicate Salamanca. But why could not it be a synthesis of many cities? Rojas may not have wanted to fix it in any particular city.

The style of the play represents the better, more polished aspects of fifteenth-century prose. Eloquence in the expression of passion becomes more intense, and less affected, in Rojas than in Rodríguez del Padrón or Diego de San Pedro; and the colloquial chatter in *El Corbacho* by the Arcipreste de Talavera gives place to a lively yet dignified speech in *La Celestina*. Previously there had been merely series of disconnected monologues, as for example in *Conde Lucanor*, a group of frame stories in which a master asks his servant for advice and the latter answers with a tale. *La Celestina* is the first masterpiece of Spanish dramatic literature with a perfect dialogue.

In his *Diálogo de la lengua*, Juan de Valdés points out flaws in *La Celestina*, especially with regard to unsuitable, affected words and Latin expressions. Rojas did not escape these defects so characteristic of the period, yet he did attenuate them a great deal. Like the Arcipreste de Talavera, he elevated his style with redundancy, rhetorical questions, and reiteration. Rhetorical figures and rhyme were used very sparsely by him, on the other hand, and he used Latinisms much more sparingly than such writers of the period as Enrique de Villena or Juan de Mena. Rojas's light, smooth affectation in vocabulary and construction, his quotations from and imitations of classical antiquity suit well the elegant gravity of the dialogue and the humanistic flavor that transcends the entire work. This elevation of style permitted Rojas to draw even the crudest scenes within an ideal atmosphere, to stylize the characters, and give them a dignity worthy of tragedy. Some have thought of *La Celestina* as an apotheosis of love like *Tristan and Isolde*; but it

is really a tragedy, in which love surges forth as a mystic and terrible deity that triumphs at the expense of the tears and death of its servants, that corrupts human life, and avenges sins of parents on their children. The most eloquent expression of this idea is spoken by Pleberio, Melibea's father, at the end of the story. The imminent tragedy can be felt in the first few pages, and although at first the action seems to flow tranquilly and easily, the denouement finally winds up in bloody episodes brought on by furious impulses of love and lust for money.

La Celestina was, nevertheless, written in an unsettled language that shows marked characteristics of transition. The fluency of construction, and the gracefulness with which the phrase blends with the thought, make its language closely related to the great writers of the sixteenth century; but through its grammatical forms it is still closely linked to the medieval period. An obvious sign of this is the vacillation between the letters *f* and *h* in the initial position. One reads both *fazer*, *fermosura*, and *hacer*, *hermosura*. The forms beginning with *h* finally triumphed.

Perhaps the greatest stylistic charm of *La Celestina* is the interweaving of the vernaculars of the characters. Much has been said about the currents of realism and idealism in Spanish literature; the pastoral novels and the novels of chivalry are cited as examples of the first, and the picaresque novels, as examples of the second. One notable feature is the extreme to which one current or the other can go — fantastic, quixotic idealism on the one hand; stark, crude realism on the other. *Don Quixote* of course, has proved to be the best example of the confluence of the two currents in one work. However, more than one hundred years earlier Rojas had accomplished that very deed in *La Celestina*. One can distinguish clearly the idealistic world of the lovers and the realistic world of Celestina and the servants. Beside the flowery, pompous language of humanist-Renaissance influence, spoken by the aristocratic characters and at times even by the servants in imitation of their masters, one finds the colloquial, earthy, crude language of the people, spoken by Celestina, her troupe, and the servants. Rojas gave prose the variety and flexibility that once the Arcipreste de Hita had given poetry.

Every character in *La Celestina* has a marked individuality. The lovers are especially well drawn. Spanish literature has not known a more fervent love except perhaps in Lope de Vega, the great dramatist of the Golden Age. How cold Calderón's lovers seem by comparison! Calisto and Melibea are certainly guilty of pedantry, but they are never lacking in feeling. They have often been compared with Romeo and Juliet. However, Romeo lacks the virginity of Calisto's love. Calisto has never loved anyone but Melibea, whereas Romeo has had another love. There is a very slight element of inconstancy in Romeo's soul, but one cannot doubt that Calisto was born to serve only Melibea. On the other hand, Melibea and Juliet seem to be more or less of the same impulsive, candid type. Juliet falls in love more quickly, without benefit of the prompting and prodding of a Celestina, while Melibea has been criticized for allowing herself to be conquered too quickly. Perhaps the most important difference between the Italian and the Spanish lovers lies in their approach to love. Romeo and Juliet proceed according to moral and canonical law, whereas Calisto and Melibea ignore all rules. Melibea does not try to condone her inordinate passion, and accepts all the evil effects of Calisto's death.

Celestina is, of course, the most effective character in the book. Obviously, she is no ordinary bawd but rather a crafty old witch with satanical acumen. Yet she has not sold her soul to the devil, nor is she destined to corrupt the world and drag it along with her, as one critic has stated. She is unmoved by any passion except greed, which makes her strive not only for her own betterment but also for that of her followers. It is this very greed that leads to her downfall. She likes to govern and dominate people and at times becomes hateful, but never repugnant. One cannot help admiring her astuteness, the way she adapts her speech to the person she is addressing.

Elicia and Areusa are a perfect complement to Celestina, and represent the finishing touches of her schooling. They cannot be classed as ordinary harlots; they are women in love. Yet, Rojas has not idealized them but presents them as second editions of Celestina who will some day take over from her. Sempronio and Pármeno play an important role in modern comedy as confidants of the master. They always accompany him, give

him advice, and even criticize. Rojas has delineated for the first time the parallelism of love among nobles and among servants. The carnal appetite of Pármeno and Areusa makes the passion of Calisto and Melibea seem more tender and ideal, though far from chaste.

LA CELESTINA, of course, had a tremendous effect on Spanish dramatic art. Among those who were directly influenced in one aspect or another were Juan del Encina, Gil Vicente, Torres Naharro, Lope de Rueda, Lope de Vega, Miguel de Cervantes, and many others. The sphere of influence soon spread to Italy, France, Germany, and England. A few decades after the play first appeared in Spain it was given new birth in England, where it was read and acted for more than a century.

One of a long list of plays founded on *La Celestina* was an interlude entitled *Calisto and Melibea*, first printed in England about 1525.⁹ It is noteworthy that the first Spanish work put before the English people was not in the euphuistic language of Antonio de Guevara but one distinguished by the mighty displeasure of the Spanish Inquisition. It is probable that a pupil of Juan Luis Vives wrote the interlude, with its moral tone, since Vives was at that time at Oxford.

The *dramatis personae* of *Calisto and Melibea* offer an interesting point. For the first time in English drama the characters were given Christian names instead of the usual vague abstractions such as Knowledge, Everyman, Free Will, Imagination, Vice and so on. The usual allegory and abstractions had disappeared, but the unities of time, place, and action were preserved. The opening lines are adorned with quotations from the classics and Petrarch, lifted directly from the prologue of *La Celestina*, which means that the 1502 Seville or some later edition was used, for the prologue did not appear until that year. Like Rojas, the adapter was much attracted to the learning of the ancients and, like so many Renaissance authors, he could not refrain from indulging in a cold display of learning.

The story of *Calisto and Melibea* is a condensed version of only the first four acts of *La Celestina*. The ending is quite un-

like the Spanish one. Calisto has the same passion for Melibea, but when Celestina steps in to help, Danio (Pleberio) has a dream about a monster (Celestina). Melibea, who has not yet sinned, confesses her guilt, and Danio ends the interlude with a long speech on virtue and obedience. This oratory, of course, has ruined the story. Apparently, the sordid details of *La Celestina* did not agree with the ethics of the adapter; the catastrophe and the Senecan climax obviously did not appeal to him. But perhaps it was too much to expect an English version of the original *Celestina* in virtuous England.

It is curious that, in spite of the following which the Italian comedies and tragedies had, the first foreign influence on English drama should be Spanish. It is possible that *Calisto and Melibea* was adapted from an Italian translation of *La Celestina*, since the Spanish language was hardly known in England at that time, while there was extensive commercial as well as social intercourse with Italy. England had already felt the influence of the Italian Renaissance, and her nobility sent its sons there to be educated. Seldom did they send them to Spain. There was an Italian translation of the work by Ordóñez, published in Venice in 1505, and another in Rome the next year. Yet there were three editions of *La Celestina* in Spanish published in Italy before 1530, and the English adaptation conforms most to the Castilian.

La Celestina was the first play published in Spanish in England, on February 2, 1591. On October 5, 1598, the first full-length version of the play appeared in England with the short title, *La Celestina*, so it was probably taken from the 1569 Alcalá edition. However, the best translation, entitled *The Spanish Bawd*, was by James Mabbe, who published it together with his translation of *Guzman de Alfarache* (English title, *The Rogue*) in one volume in 1630. The Ticknor Collection of the Library contains a copy of the 1631 edition of this translation, which incidentally includes an introduction to *The Spanish Bawd* signed by "Don Diego Puede-Ser." The name is, of course, a pun on James Mabbe (May-be).¹⁰

The tremendous influence of *La Celestina* on English drama can be measured in terms of the significance of *Calisto and Melibea*. It was the first English play indebted to a foreign source.

It represents the first contact of English and Spanish literatures. It was the first play to suppress the allegory of the moralities, and to omit the use of abstract qualities as names of characters. It marks the beginning of romantic comedy in England — eventually to reach its apex with Shakespeare.

The fabulous success of *La Celestina* in Spain and throughout Europe was without precedent. By 1530 seventeen editions in Spanish had appeared, with innumerable translations. *La Celestina* was a typical product of the Renaissance, leaving an indelible impression on dramatic prose through the Continent which was quick to grasp this fruit of the new learning.

Notes

1. Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, *Orígenes de la novela*, Madrid 1943, Vol. III, p. 386.
2. Fernando de Rojas, *La Celestina*, Madrid 1913, Vol. II, p. 62.
3. Menéndez Pelayo, *op. cit.*, p. 222.
4. The Boston Public Library owns one copy each of two different reprint editions of this 1499 edition. One was edited by the noted Hispanist Raymond Foulché-Delbosc and was published in Barcelona in 1902. The other, published by the DeVinne Press in 1909, is one of an edition of two hundred copies printed in facsimile for Archer M. Huntington from the unique copy of the Burgos 1499 edition in the library of J. Pierpont Morgan.
5. The Boston Public Library has a copy of this edition in facsimile with a critical study by Menéndez Pelayo, published in Vigo in 1900.
6. Manuel Serrano y Sanz, *Noticias biográficas de Fernando de Rojas*, Madrid 1902.
7. Castro Guisasola, *Observaciones sobre las fuentes literarias de la Celestina*, Madrid 1924.
8. Rojas, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. XII.
9. The Boston Public Library own a copy of a reprint edition of this interlude, published in London in 1908.
10. Also in the library is another English version of *The Spanish Bawd*, reduced from twenty-one to five acts and adapted to the English stage by John Savage, who used Mabbe's translation. It was published in London in 1707.

Portraits in Caricature

By FRANK WEITENKAMPF

PORTRAITURE with exaggerated characteristics is a form of art that has its record, noteworthy but perhaps more limited than might be supposed. For of the many artists who may have thought that they were called to this specialty few can be chosen as standing the test. To draw a "funny" picture of someone seems so much easier than it is. The school-boy does it with assurance and incompetence. It has been attempted by more than one artist not sensitive to the implications of the undertaking, as may be seen in some of the "humorous" pictures of actors and actresses in the newspapers. What such drawings, with some notable exceptions, generally lack is real disclosure of the characters portrayed; instead, they are apt to display the artist's habitual mannerisms and technical tricks. The subject is subordinated to the manner, which is hardly the way to express one's individuality.

There is nothing new in this. When Daumier, a century or so ago, was using the art of caricatured portraiture in a masterly way to put added emphasis and vigor into his blows for the cause of liberty, his compatriot Benjamin (Benjamin Raubaud) was turning out conventional comic portraits, including one of Daumier himself. Putting large heads with little character onto small bodies, he furnished a pretty example of the inconsequential.

To rouse the facile guffaw is no great accomplishment; to inspire an understanding smile is a different matter. Caricatured portraiture, like laughter, is a serious matter; it implies more than may appear on the surface. Henri Bergson has an interesting note in his *Essay on Laughter*:

However regular a face may be, there will always be the vague suggestion of a possible grimace, some favorite distortion towards which nature seems particularly inclined. The art of the caricaturist consists in detecting this, at times imperceptible, tendency and rendering it visible to all eyes by magnifying it . . . Certainly it is an art that exaggerates, yet the definition would be very far from complete were the exaggeration alone alleged to be its aim, for

there exist caricatures which are more life-like than portraits, caricatures in which the exaggeration is scarcely noticeable, while, inversely, it is quite possible to exaggerate to excess without obtaining a real caricature.

The chief point made by this writer is the need for restraint in distortion. And the distortion must not be simply a motion of the hand, an habitual technical doodling, but the result of mental perceptions. For the young artist who underestimates the significance of this, there is a neat lesson in the four sketches of King Louis Philippe made by Charles Philipon, editor of *La Caricature*. Arraigned for having lampooned the "Citizen King" as a pear, he illustrated in four successive drawings how naturally the king's head could be turned into that fruit.

To seize on and emphasize essential characteristics in face, body, and costume — not simply to exaggerate features — with both force and restraint is the prime quality necessary in this art, and it has been exercised by comparatively few artists.

Daumier is quite likely to come first to mind. With what biting irony and moral indignation did he present Louis Philippe in the famous composition "Enfoncé Lafayette" and other lithographs! That they were published in a humorous weekly does not diminish their importance not only as political cartoons but as art. A little more delight in caricature than appears in his lithographic drawings is perhaps found in Daumier's busts, "bustes-charges" as Eugène Bouvy called them. Possibly Jean Pierre Dantan's statuette portraits set him on this way. Dantan, some of whose heads are rather good, "abandoned himself," says Arsène Alexandre, "to the study of contorted resemblances, more or less forced accentuations of certain habits." In Daumier's little sculptures, on the other hand, it is the character that counts, not the caricature *per se*.

After Daumier, overpowering in his force, there appear to be only two artists who really impose themselves on our notice. André Gill, who did the well-known drawing of Richard Wagner pounding at a human ear, seems at times to be occupied chiefly with his ingenuity in exaggerated portraiture. However, he was often effective, as in his noteworthy series of cartoons on Louis Adolphe Thiers. He had a keen eye for characteristic features, and if he had not the elemental force of Daumier,



Richard Wagner — A Caricature by André Gill

his achievement is nevertheless significant. Quite different in style, the suavity of his crayon stroke contrasting with the incisiveness of Gill's line, is Charles Léandre. But that softness of expression hardly veils the gusto with which he hit off Zola, Coquelin, and others, notably Queen Victoria. Here we have again caricature not used for its own sake but to serve characterization by accentuation.

In Europe outside of France excellent examples of the portrait-charge, as the French call it, were furnished by Olaf Gulbransson. His Ibsen, for example, is an unforgettable analysis and comment; and he did other such pieces, with a remarkable insight into human character and an equally notable command of accentuated graphic utterance.

England naturally suggests Max Beerbohm. His presentations of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Robert Browning, Lytton Strachey, Sidney Webb, Queen Victoria, Edward VII, and others have not the vigorous and penetrating draughtsmanship displayed by the other European artists here named. But even if one should seem to find a slight trace of amateurishness, that would be counter-balanced by the intellectual quality that brings out the intent in his drawings. And, after all, the idea is underscored neatly enough in facial expression and posture. Speaking of his caricatures of Hall Caine in *Harper's Magazine* for August 1949, Beerbohm said that in the later ones he got the expression of the face, whereas previously he had got only the form. A neat note on the job of making a caricature portrait! As to the portraits in *Vanity Fair*, that famous old London publication, one may wonder a little at their vogue. They are often dry, uninteresting in technique, British in their gentlemanly reserve, avoiding forceful emphasis, save perhaps in those by "Ape."

In the United States we have some artists who rank high in the record of "charged" portraiture. Al Frueh's snap-shots of George Cohan and other stage-folk, done with a most knowing economy of line, stressing the significance of the unsaid, are disclosures of character presented in a very personal style. But the style serves the purpose and is not paraded for its own sake as it is by others, either of minor talent or unable to get away from themselves and into their subject. William Auerbach-Levy

has done striking heads with a similar thriftiness of means: John Lewis, Theodore Dreiser, Eugene O'Neill, and others, including Minnie Maddern Fiske in a pert profile which recalls the similar but unaccented one of the same actress on a poster by Ernest Haskell.

For the rest, speaking of this country, it may be noted that Gluyas Williams has made a few motions, all too few, in the direction of Frueh; that James Montgomery Flagg, who usually sets down un-caricatured character, has occasionally put exaggerated emphasis into his portraiture, as in his Arnold Bennett, Irvin Cobb, and especially Percy MacKaye; and that Art Young, that delightful rebel, frequently pictured himself with slight hints at caricatured traits. Marius de Zayas, even in such clever impressions as the one of Nazimova, was not quite convincing; the thing was a bit overdone. Covarrubias is also a bit on the border line; one often feels that the character portrayed is fitted into the mold of the artist's style. Nor does Peggy Bacon really analyze, although her contagious point-of-view is amusing.

It should be pointed out that the prominent political cartoonists of England and the United States have generally adhered to fairly straight portraiture, showing character in variation of temper and mood, without strong underlining by caricature. Notable examples are Tenniel, Thomas Nast, Joseph and Joseph, Jr., Keppler, Rollin Kirby, O. E. Cesare. Among the exceptions are Nast's devastating utilization of facial traits in his attacks on "Boss" Tweed.

Comparatively few artists have been noted in this article — because there are not too many to note. In the best and most enduring work the element of caricature is restrained, used only to underscore character. As already indicated, mere distortion will not do, nor will the mere exhibition of a manner, a bagful of tricks, that dominates the subject instead of vice versa. The record of caricature, as it appears in comic papers and newspapers housed in our larger public libraries, shows plenty of incompetent approach. Such work inevitably passes into the realm of the forgotten. That which is worth while and retains its place and possible influence belongs to the domain of significant art.

John Taylor Arms: In Memoriam

By ARTHUR W. HEINTZELMAN

WITH the passing of John Taylor Arms on October 13, 1953, the art world was deprived of not only a master of the graphic arts but a friend of print makers from all corners of the globe. His generosity and thought for his fellow man touched every artist prominent in the print field, and many bettered themselves through his encouragement and personal interest in times of stress.

"One can hardly speak of prints without thinking of John Taylor Arms," wrote Albert Reese, the eminent connoisseur of prints. "Not only is his technical virtuosity extraordinary, but his understanding and reverence for the great have made him the most eloquent exponent of the graphic arts in our time. President of the Society of American Etchers almost since its inception, Arms has probably done more than anyone else to keep printmaking a living and a vital force in American art.

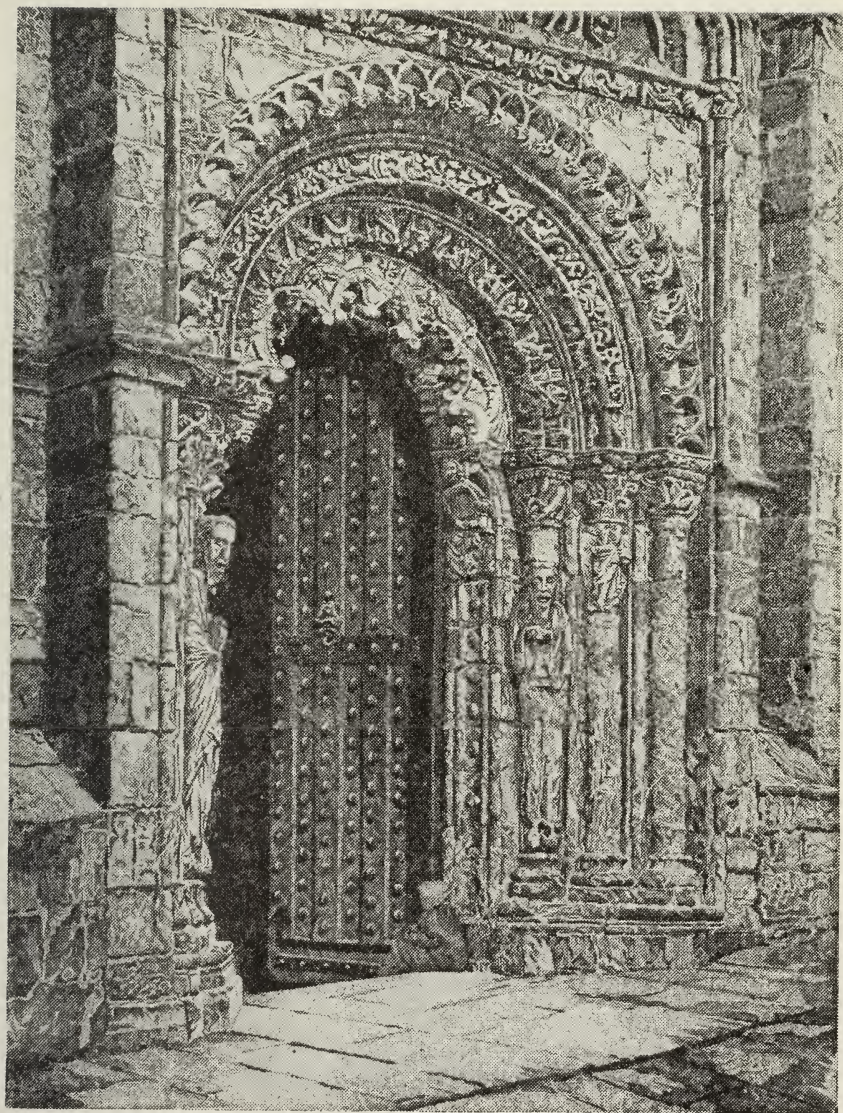
"As an etcher in the pursuit of his own ideal Arms is perhaps supreme. Certainly no one has ever treated the grandeur of Gothic architecture with more respect or greater fidelity than this apostle of the bitten line. Fervent in his love of the tremulous creations that bespeak the eternal glory of medieval art, he is as one bewitched by the Gothic spell. Implicit in his every line is the magic of the flying buttress, the rose window, the radiant façade. His *oeuvre* is a technical achievement that is not only a hymn of praise to the spirit, but is expressive of the substance of the great era when master-masons aspired to God on flaming filaments of filigreed stone."

In "Sunlight and Shadows," executed in 1915, Arms's first plate, there was an immediate successful result; and from this first effort there was a steady and sure growth both artistically and technically that brought him to the very pinnacle of print making. This forward movement in the development of his great talent can best be described in his own words: "True, my approach is more sober by years of living and working, years fraught with most intense and conflicting emotions. Yet the

fundamental beliefs expressed then have remained unchanged. Rather have they deepened, matured, and become, through the passage of time, more than ever part of the being that is I . . ."

He was an artist of extraordinary ability, and one whose work has received international recognition. As President of the American Society of Etchers, now the Society of American Graphic Artists, his untiring efforts never diminished and have done much to promote genuine interest in the graphic arts. He achieved a closer relationship between the print makers of Europe and America. Notwithstanding his busy life, he found time to cultivate lasting friendships among his contemporaries, both here and abroad, and they will mourn his inestimable loss. With an interest that never wearied, he sought for the beautiful in everything that came under his observation, and his industry knew no rest. He arranged exchange exhibitions between the United States and Europe, and only recently organized an important exchange of graphic arts with England. He was also the author of numerous books and articles dealing with prints and the artists who made them. Among them is the valuable *Handbook of Print Making and Print Makers*, published in 1934, which has been a guide to many of our younger artists. Without doubt, through his foresight and love of prints, Arms played a great part in the renaissance of print making in the early part of the century.

A memorial exhibition of Arms's work will be held in December in the Print Department of the Library. In its retrospective representation there will be records of his many pilgrimages to the Gothic masterpieces of Europe, which took him through France, Italy, England, Sweden, and Spain. Among them will be the brilliant etchings "Notre Dame de Paris," "Chartres," "Amiens," "Rheims," "Bourges," "Abbéville," "Rouen," and "Beauvais," revealing the endless time and care that was necessary for the construction of these great monuments. There is a long row of inspiring prints of the same kind: "Basilica of the Madeleine, Vézelay," "Abside de la Cathédrale de Saint Pierre et Saint Paul, Troyes," "Gothic Glory, Sens Cathedral," "Study in Stone, Cathedral of Orense," "Aspirations," a study of the Church of the Madeleine, Verneuil-sur-Avre, "Lace in Stone," considered his masterpiece, and others,



Cathedral of Orense — An Etching by John Taylor Arms

each excelling in a forceful combination of the spiritual and the technical. That these plates were a work of love is clearly indicated in Arms's own statement in his booklet *Gothic Memories*: "I, too, am a mediaevalist if I interpret the word aright," he wrote, "one to whom the goal is all-important, and the steps leading to it, however slow and fumbling, are but the rungs on a ladder to the heights beyond. So feeling, it is my mission to make bits of paper, covered with etched or pencilled lines, express my deepest sense of beauty in the efforts to recreate the glory which, through another age, endures throughout the centuries."

Although Arms was widely known as an etcher of the Gothic, he must not be thought so limited. His Italian plates, particularly those of Venice, could suffice to show his creative pleasure in other fields too. He was fascinated by the old streets of European cities. Many times these picturesque settings were introduced to support a distant cathedral or an interesting vista of some other great edifice. Then there are the scenes of New York and our Far West. No matter what the subject, he always grasped the significant features in line, color, movement, and balance. His magnificent technique requires intelligent study on the part of the beholder, but one is compensated for the effort by the amazing variety of textures, which form a mass of solidity rare among print-makers of today.

No other American etcher is more individual. Arms was one of the few real students of the various graphic mediums, and his experiments over the years were the result of a pure and honest visual approach. His work possesses an epic quality, uniting artistic and historic values. There is in it always a fine feeling for space composition, architectural details, lights and shadows — and, above all, they are free from imitation. Few artists in the history of contemporary etching have made closer observation of the emotions pertaining to his subject. To appreciate Arms's work is to know that it has a background of unusual knowledge and talent.

Arms has preserved for us the records of Gothic monuments which have suffered the ravages of two destructive world wars. Their historic value is important, especially at a time like the present when the great cultural verities that we have

striven to safeguard for centuries are threatened. We must be profoundly thankful that this great student of Gothic architecture could recreate, through the power of his etching needle, the beauty and inspiration of these monuments for the generations to follow. Arms and his work were closely wrought. Until the day of his passing he was possessed of the insatiable spirit of life. In his late plates there was still the promise of greater achievements, inexhaustible mastery, and the enduring youth of creative power.

John Taylor Arms received many signal honors. He was an Associé of the Société National des Beaux Arts; an Associate of the Royal Society of Etchers in England; a member of the National Academy of Design, of which he was also first Vice-President; President of the Society of American Graphic Artists. He was honored by the French Government, with the Cross of the Legion of Honor; and he was an honorary member of many etching societies. To mention the museums in which he is represented would require many lines. His teachings to artists and laymen alike are eloquent; and his place as friend, artist, and connoisseur is secure for all time.

Notes on Rare Books

Apologia por la noble nacion de los Iudios, London 1649

AS a gift from Mr. Lee M. Friedman, a member of the Board of Trustees, the Boston Public Library has received a Spanish tract of considerable historic as well as bibliographic interest: *Apologia por la noble nacion de los Iudios y hijos de Israel*, translated from the English original of Edward Nicholas and printed by John Field in London in 1649. This Spanish pamphlet is extremely rare, considerably more so than the English original, entitled *An Apology for the Honorable Nation of the Jews and all the Sons of Israel*, also printed by John Field in 1648[9].

This tract is a significant document in the history of toleration in England. Leonard Busher's *Religious Peace, or, a Plea for Liberty of Conscience*, first published in 1614, was reprinted in 1646; Roger Williams, the founder of Rhode Island, issued *The Bloudy Tenent of Persecution* in 1644; Hugh Peters, Williams's successor in Salem and then chaplain to Cromwell's army, in *A Word for the Army* made his proposal that "strangers, even Jews, be admitted to trade and live with us." A number of other pamphleteers pleaded for the re-admission of Jews, who had been expelled from England in 1290 by Edward I. The crest of this movement was reached in 1648 when a Council of Mechanics at Whitehall voted toleration of all religions, "not excepting Turks and Papists or Jews."

Meanwhile in the Jewish colony at Amsterdam rose the voice of Menasseh Ben Israel, a great scholar, whose name has been linked with the Nicholas tract. Menasseh, the son of a Portuguese Marrano, was the rabbi of the synagogue Neveh Shalom. His circle of friends included Rembrandt, who illustrated his book *Piedra Gloriosa* with four plates and also etched his portrait. Menasseh set up, in 1627, the first printing press in Amsterdam with Hebrew types. A good linguist, he wrote English with ease, and was in correspondence with John Dury and Nathaniel Holmes on the supposed identity of the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel with American Indians. He dedicated a Messianic work, *Spes Israelis*, published in 1650, to the English Parliament. The English diplomatic mission which went to Holland to discuss an alliance between England and the United Provinces paid a visit to Menasseh's synagogue in Amsterdam.

It was in October 1651 that Menasseh approached the Council of

State in England about the re-admission of Jews to England. He received a pass to visit England, but the war between the two countries prevented his taking passage. In his stead, David Abrabanel Dormido (his brother-in-law?) adventured to England in September 1654. A year later, Menasseh himself arrived in London. He lost no time in sending his "Humble Addresses" to Cromwell, followed by a lengthier "Declaration to the Commonwealth of England," setting forth his aims. At the end of the declaration he speaks of the nobility of the Jews, and refers to the treatment of this point by Christians, among them "by Mr. Edw. Nicholas Gentleman, in his Book, called *An Apologie for the Honorable Nation of the Jews and all the sons of Israel.*"

In summarizing here the main arguments of the Nicholas *Apology*, the English version is used. Only the spelling and punctuation are modernized.

At the start, the writer refers to an observation made by a "reverend and godly learned preacher (Hugh Peters?) before Parliament that 'the good or evil usage of God's people is the greatest state interest in the world.'" Answering the usual medieval objection that the Jews were rejected by God for refusing the Gospel, Nicholas argues: "It is apparent in the Gospel that that action was done by the elders, chief priests, and scribes, Christ's doctrine reproving their hypocrisy, laziness, and pride: that they wrought a faction against him and not that the whole nation were guilty; for the people erewhile brought him into the city, crying, Hosanna." The author wants to prove that "God yet owns them for his people and, though cast off for a time, their certain future reduction is promised." And he warns:

We have great and important cause to take heed, lest we of this Kingdom of England putting from us and abandoning these people of God, we separate not ourselves from God's favor and protection . . . It is not tolerable amongst moral men to add affliction to the afflicted, as we do in continuing laws in force against them; it stands not with a generous spirit to triumph over a man helpless and in misery, much more hateful is it in men that profess themselves the servants of God; but rather that we endeavor to comfort them, and to give them satisfaction for the innocent blood of theirs shed in this Kingdom, and to restore them to commerce amongst us.

There is an allusion to the lost Ten Tribes of Israel. The writer quotes Hosea and Ezekiel, giving the ancient Prophecies an interpretation that foreshadows Zionism: ". . . that their restauration

and inhabitation of their country here on earth is yet to be fulfilled; for the Ten Tribes that were first captivated by Shalmanezzar never yet returned to this day, which yet shall be in the time appointed by God; and consequently their oppressors bear the greater and notorious sin, undervaluing a people to whom God hath made such precious promises." In the final paragraph the writer states:

And what I have now written, was not upon any man's motion of the Jews' nation, but a thing that I have long and deeply revolved within my heart; but truly and indeed, my endeavors are for the glory of God, the comfort of these afflicted people, the love of my own sweet native country of England, and the freeing of my own soul in the day of account.

Who was Edward Nicholas? He could not be Sir Edward Nicholas, secretary of state to both Charles I and Charles II, for he was a pronounced Royalist and living in exile when the pamphlet was published. A son of his of the same name, who could have been twenty-four at the time, has not been mentioned by any bibliographer. One must look elsewhere.

AS biographers and bibliographers have manifested various attitudes, it may be of some interest to consider them. Beginning with the older writers, one may meet with strange assumptions. Dr. Meyer Kayserling, in a bibliographical study,¹ refers to the likelihood that many people may have accused Nicholas of writing at the instigation of the Jews and especially of Menasseh, and goes on to say (in German):

In any case this representative and advocate [Menasseh] received early news of this strange apology; it meant to him the best proof that the Protector and those who were likeminded favored his cause, for Nicholas, as Menasseh knew, was the private secretary of Cromwell, and it did not seem too far-fetched a conjecture that the apology had been written under his influence, if not with his advice and at his order.²

1. "Menasse Ben Israel. Sein Leben und Wirken," published in the *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte der Juden*, vol. 2. Leipzig, 1861, p. 134.

2. In a foot-note Kayserling adds that, as de Castro supposes, there is said to exist a Spanish translation made by Menasseh himself. *Opus cit.*, p.134.

In Kayserling's *Bibliotheca Espanola-Portuguesa-Judaica* (Strasbourg, 1890) where Christian authors are designated by an asterisk, the tract of Nicholas is starred; the editions listed are of Amsterdam 1648, and of Smyrna, 1659.

Heinrich Graetz, the famous German historian of Judaism, in his *Geschichte der Juden*³ also speaks of "an influential Christian, Edward Nikolas [sic], former secretary in the Parliament." He notes that the author of the tract throughout treats the Jews as the chosen people of God, "with a tenderness to which they had hitherto not been used at all." Further he comments:

Basnage [Johann Christophorus?] Wolf, and de Rossi consider it the pseudonymous work of a Portuguese Jew. However, [Nathaniel] Holmes considered it genuine and wrote about it to Manasse Ben-Israel on the 24th of December, 1649: *Delectari videris D. Nicolai apologia* . . . If it had been spurious, Manasse and Holmes would have scented it. Whether the author was that esquire Edward Nicholas, secretary of the parliament after Falkland (1642) is not certain. It is possible that the author used this name. There exists, according to de Castro, a Spanish translation of the Apology. The Seminary-library owns a copy, which has on the title-page 'London 1649' like the original. Whether Manasse Ben-Israel translated it into Spanish has not been proved.⁴

The historian Lucien Wolf, in the Introduction to his edition of Menasseh's pamphlets,⁵ describes the later reaction from the enthusiasm in the 1640s:

What is most significant, however, is that the chief friends of the Jews — the men who had encouraged Menasseh six years before — were now either silent or openly in favour of restrictions which would have rendered the Readmission a barren privilege. Sadler did not reiterate the Judeophil teachings of his "Rights of the Kingdom"; . . . and the pseudonymous author of "An Apology for the Honourable Nation of the Jews" was dumb.

Here, obviously, Mr. Wolf could not have thought of the pseudonymous author as identical with Menasseh.

The *Jewish Chronicle* for February 9, 1906 contains a brief article on Edward Nicholas by Israel Solomons, who quotes a Latin volume by one Henry Scharbau, a minister in Lübeck, printed in 1722, with a chapter on Edward Nicholas. Scharbau evidently did not know about Nicholas's English tract, as he mentions only the Span-

3. Leipzig, 2nd edition, 1863-[1902], p. 95-6.

4. The following note may be quoted from De Rossi's *Dizionario Storico degli Autori Ebrei* (Parma, 1802): "Rodriguez de Castro in his *Biblioteca rabb.* p. 565 also conjectures from the conformity of the style that our author [Menasseh] translated from the English into Spanish the *Apology for the noble nation of the Jewes* which was printed in London under the fictitious name of Edward Nicholas in 1649 and was reprinted in Smyrna in 1659."

5. *Menasseh Ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell*, London, 1901, p. xliii.

ish version; and he refers to the *Acta Eruditorum* where the work is ascribed to Menasseh Ben Israel, although it is not included in the list of Menasseh's works which the Rabbi himself had prepared. Finally Scharbau quotes the opinion of Jacques Basnage de Beauval (1653-1723), who saw in the writer "a Jew who has assumed the character of a Christian in order to give more force to his apology."⁶

Mr. Albert Hyamson in *A History of the Jews in England*⁷ states that Edward Nicholas was once thought to have been Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary to Charles I, but has not yet been identified. The author mentions other views, namely that Nicholas was a disguised Marrano, and also the one according to which "Edward Nicholas" was only a pseudonym for Menasseh ben Israel. And he refers to the article by Israel Solomons noted above.

The Oxford scholar Cecil Roth in his biography of Menasseh⁸ points out that Nicholas's *Apology* was the first specific plea that had been made in England in behalf of the Jews, and that it might almost have been written by Menasseh himself, though the author of the tract insisted that he had written it without any solicitation on the part of Jews. After quoting from the tract, the author comments: "This little pamphlet obviously caused considerable stir. It was translated into Spanish and printed in that language in London in the following year — presumably with the object of making it known to the Jewish community at large." And he gives a curious bit of information:⁹

It is very significant that in the Hebrew chronicle *Sheerith Israel*, first published at Amsterdam in 1741, the credit for securing the Resettlement in England is assigned exclusively to a book written by a friendly Gentile without the knowledge of the Jews, and much less at their request. It is obvious that the chronicler had Nicholas' pamphlet in mind. This must accordingly have been familiar to Jewish circles in Holland. In the account in question, the activities of Menasseh ben Israel are mentioned only incidentally, while his personal visit to England is overlooked.

Dr. Roth does not consider it likely that the translation was made by Menasseh.¹⁰ In regard to the authorship of the tract (as distinct from the translation) he writes:

6. The article notes also that Bartoloccius and Fürst mention the Smyrna edition of 1659, and that the latter in his *Bibliotheca Judaica* suggests that the author was probably a Marrano.

7. London, 1908, note on p. 167.

8. *A Life of Menasseh Ben Israel*, Philadelphia, 1934, p. 197.

9. *Opus cit.*, p. 333.

10. "The fact that the translation was printed in London makes it ex-

The author of the pamphlet, Edward Nicholas, Gent., was not identical (as Kayserling and others believed) with Sir Edward Nicholas who had been Secretary of State to Charles I and was now in exile. Indeed, the latter's attitude towards the Jews was far from friendly . . . According to a more recent but fanciful suggestion (cf. Israel Solomons in *The Jewish Chronicle* for February 9, 1906), the name served as pseudonym for some Marrano propagandist, or even for Menasseh ben Israel himself.

In Dr. Roth's more recent publication, *A History of the Jews in England*,¹¹ he also refers to the tract of Nicholas, "who spoke of the tribulations that the country had suffered in punishment for her past maltreatment of the People of God . . ." In a note¹² Dr. Roth suggests the probability that Menasseh was influenced by Nicholas's *Apology*, the sentiments of which the rabbi "sometimes echoes in his book [*The Hope of Israel*].

WHAT was the outcome of Menasseh's mission? In 1906 a great banquet was held in London to celebrate the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the conference that Cromwell held on December 4, 1656 at Whitehall, where a committee of divines, diplomats, jurists, and merchants met with the council to decide on the right of Jews to settle once more in England. At this anniversary Lucien Wolf, the historian, explained that the decision at Whitehall was not a Parliamentary Act, but that this very fact ultimately proved to be an advantage. For as a formal Act it would have become void at the Restoration "while the decision of the Conference, being merely an interpretation of the law as it then stood, was independent of the vicissitudes of an exceptionally stormy and insecure age." A basic legal point had been gained. The question whether it was lawful to admit Jews was answered favorably by the judges Sir John Glynne and William Steele, who considered that there was no law forbidding their admission. For the rest, the conference was unfriendly, as the wave of tolerance to which the Nicholas tract belonged had been followed by another, of which William Prynne's *A Short Demurrer to the Jewes Long discontinued Remitter into England* was the bitterest expression. Even Hugh Peters had changed his mind. Various restrictive and harshly discriminatory measures tremely improbable that it was made by Menasseh ben Israel, as has been suggested by some authorities; though it is far from unlikely that one of the Marrano group resident in London was responsible for it." *Opus cit.* p. 333.

11. Oxford, 1941, p. 153.

12. *Opus cit.*, p. 282.

were proposed in case of admission, and no definitive settlement was reached.

For Cromwell considerations of trade were the most important, and he knew that the international mercantile relations of the Jews could be of great benefit. Actually a number of "crypto-Jews" were at the time already living in England. Some of them made themselves useful to Cromwell's government as purveyors of political intelligence, others acted as army contractors and money-lenders. Indeed, the Jewish settlers had brought into the country large sums of money. Although he was obliged to withhold official authorization, Cromwell allowed Jews to settle in England, and they were granted the use of a certain house as a synagogue.¹³

Cromwell received Menasseh with kindness. He enjoyed listening to the learned Rabbi, and it is pleasant to learn that their conversation is said to have been mainly on the library at Cambridge.¹⁴ When Menasseh, through his extended stay in London, became impoverished and was obliged to apply to the Protector for financial aid, Cromwell granted him a liberal pension which, however, the Treasury failed to pay. The indefinite turn of events was a disappointment to Menasseh, who had hoped to extend the Jewish diaspora to England. In September 1657, upon the death of his own son Samuel, he returned to the Netherlands. He himself died two months later, at Middleburg.

It is one of the ironies of history that the Jews in England were to find increased liberties under the Stuarts after the Restoration. Charles II, while in exile, had asked financial aid of the Jews in Amsterdam. "Such assistance he received," H. S. Q. Henriques, British historian, wrote, "and he afterwards scrupulously carried out the pledge [of protection and amelioration of the law restricting them] on the faith of which it had been rendered."¹⁵ As Mr. Roth points out, through a written assurance from the King, "the resettlement of the Jews was guaranteed for the first time by a written charter of liberties. Thereafter, it was never seriously questioned."¹⁶

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13. Cecil Roth states in a foot-note to ch. VII of his *A History of the Jews in England*, p. 166: "Notwithstanding the accepted view, Cromwell did not authorize the resettlement of the Jews in England, however much he desired to do so. The general impression that he did is due to the cumulative effect of eighteenth-century vituperation and nineteenth-century quasi-beatification."

14. Kayserling, *opus cit.*, p. 181.

15. *The Return of the Jews to England*, London, 1905, p. 73 ff.

16. *Menasseh Ben Israel*, p. 279.

A Famous Book on Hunting

JAQUES DU FOUILLOUX'S *La Vénerie*, first published in 1561, is considered the best treatise of its century on the hunting of the stag and other animals. It enjoyed the king's pleasure as well as a general acclaim, and was reissued about twenty times. The Library's copy, which has been recently acquired, is of the second edition, brought out in 1573 in Paris by Galliot du Pré. Besides the original treatise on hunting, the volume includes a poem by Guillaume Bouchet, "Complainte du Cerf," and "L'Adolescence," a pastoral poem by Du Fouilloux. An important feature of the book are the 58 fine woodcuts, several of which occupy a whole page, and the rest, half-a-page.

The biographical data about the author are scant. In Larousse's *Grand Dictionnaire Universel du XIX^e Siècle* he is merely identified as a country gentleman of Poitou, who lived from 1521 till 1580, and was the author of a popular study of hunting. In 1611 there appeared in London *The Book of Falconrie or Hawking* by George Turbervile, with a second part of the volume entitled *The Noble Art of Venerie or Hunting, translated . . . out of the best approved Authors*. Here was Du Fouilloux's book, rendered into English and illustrated with copies of the French woodcuts. But his name was not mentioned.

Hunting was both sport and ceremony. Erasmus praised the folly of hunters who "take unimaginable pleasure to hear the yell of the horns and the yelps of the hounds," who, indeed, neglect all other concerns for this ritual. Charles IX of France, to whom Du Fouilloux dedicated his book, must have been such a hunter. Ascending the throne when still a boy, he willingly left the business of state to his mother, Catherine de Medici, until his death at the age of twenty-four. A lively youth, he was engrossed in his amusements while France was beset with religious wars leading to the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. The Patron of Ronsard and the poets of the Pléiade, Charles himself wrote verse, as well as a little book on hunting, *Traité de la Chasse Royale*, which was published posthumously in 1625.

La Vénerie begins with a discussion of hounds: white dogs, good for stag hunting; reddish dogs, hardy and persistent in the chase; grey dogs, more sluggish than the others; and black dogs, good for hunting the boar, fox, and fusty animals. The mating is most successful under the signs of Gemini and Aquarius. The kennels should be spacious, and the groom, courteous and gentle.

Du Fouilloux's observations on the nature and habits of wild animals are augmented by his reading of Pliny and Isidore of Seville. He gives ample information of how the animals live, where they are to be found during the year, and how they behave when they are being hunted. He even adds facts about their medicinal "virtues." The stag's head, cut into bits and steeped in the juice of certain herbs, is a cure for snake bite and poison. The hare provides a medicine for melancholy, because, being melancholy herself, she goes in search of the beneficial herb, wild succory, thus showing men a remedy for that infection.

Du Fouilloux describes hunting the stag, the most ceremonious of the hunts. In December the stag withdraws to the forest, where he eats holm and elder leaves. The huntsmen examine the trails, and report their findings to the king, awaiting his orders. Then the company proceeds leisurely into the forest, king and gentlemen on horseback, pikemen and dogs running ahead, the horn sounding. There is feasting before the chase; the keeper of wines being along with three horses laden. From the roof of the castle — as on the tapestries of the period — ladies watch the festivity.

The book goes on with instructions for pursuing the quarry, keeping to the trail, however the stag crosses and doubles, then for the killing him at bay. There are pages of musical notation for the horns and the cries of the hunters, with traditional words; and the instructions for dismembering the stag and dispensing the parts to the men and dogs.

No less informative are the chapters on hunting the boar, fox, badger, and wolf. The hare is especially "mischievous" in eluding the hunters, for at the first blast of the horn she will sometimes dive into a stream and swim to the middle, or hide in a flock of sheep, escaping the dogs for hours. Concluding the book is a glossary of terms and phrases.

The full-page woodcuts represent scenes such as the huntsman coming to the king's breakfast table with his report, or a banquet of the king's party. The smaller woodcuts are realistic drawings of animals, with trees and plants. The human figures are drawn with strong lines and nicely modelled. The illustrations of "Adolescence" are particularly interesting. These include scenes of shepherdesses watching their flocks. The last one is of a young woman standing in a farmyard as the sun rises.

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